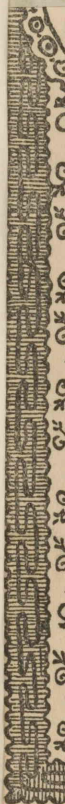


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THE ROUMANIAN QUESTION

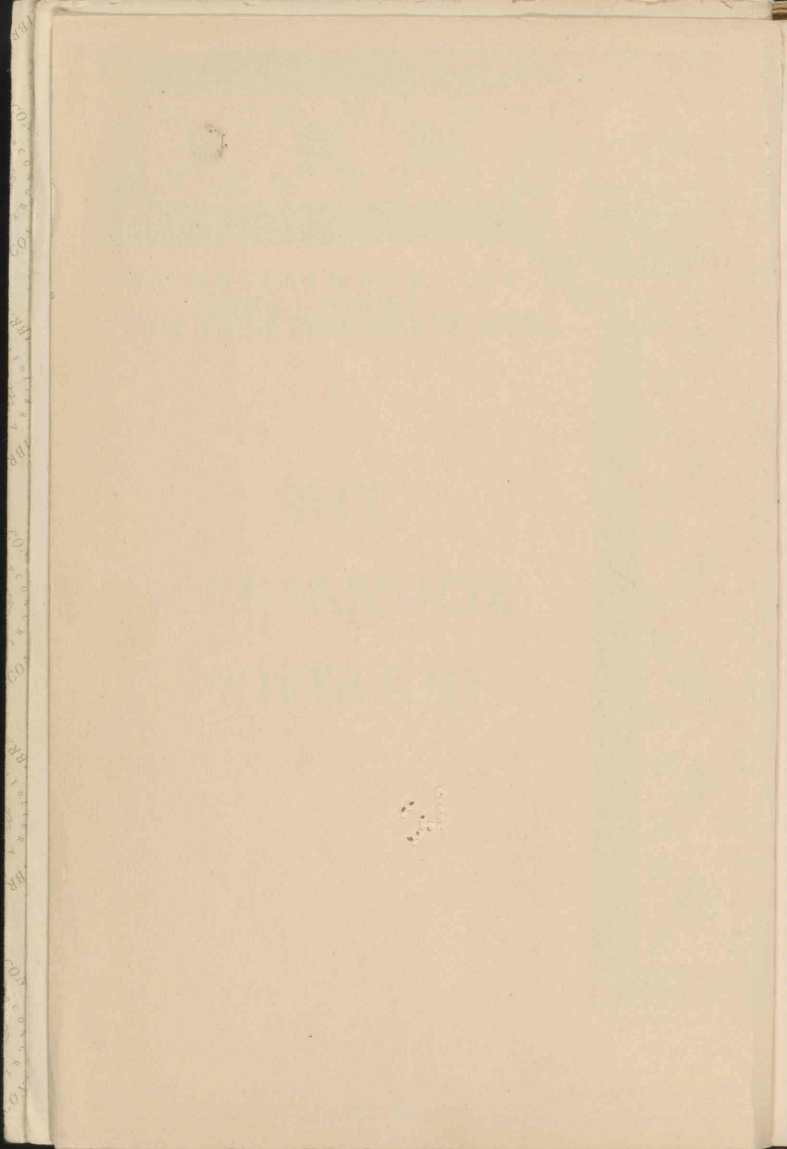
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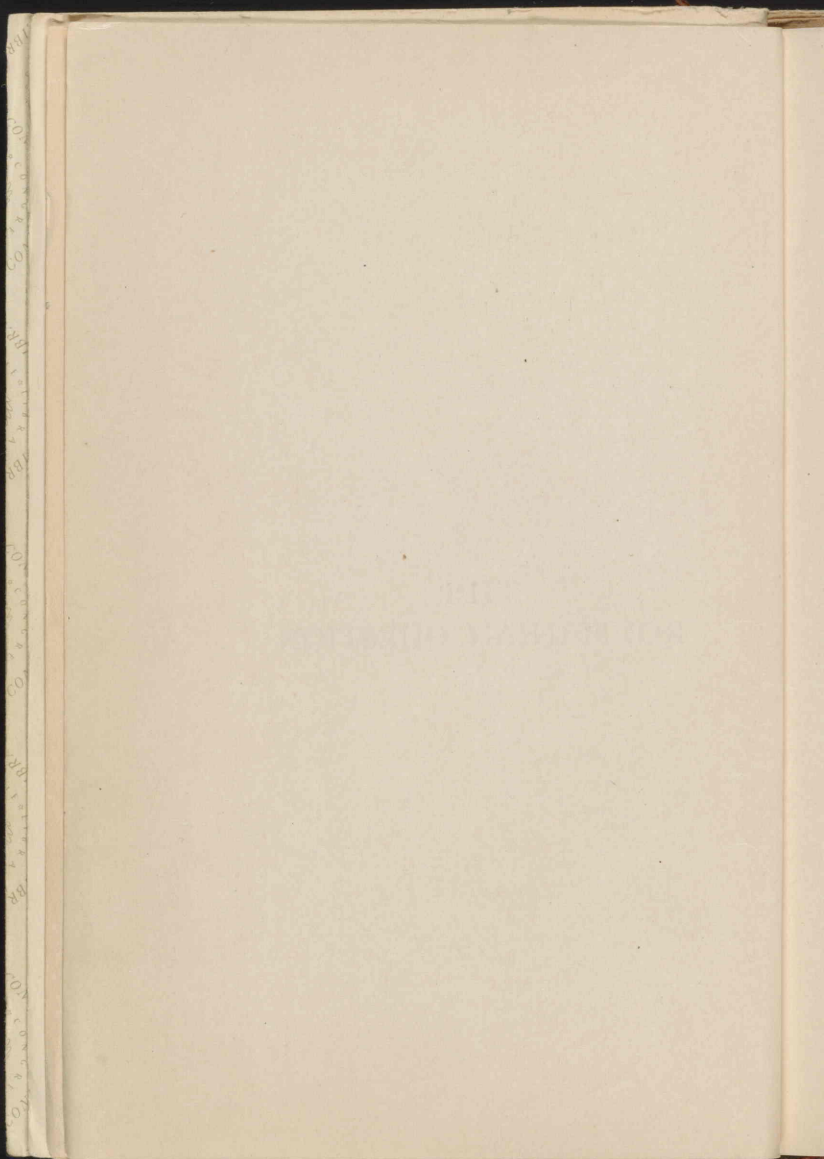
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THE
ROUMANIAN QUESTION



THE ROUMANIANS AND THEIR LANDS

Edited by PROFESSOR VASILE STOICA

I.

THE ROUMANIAN QUESTION

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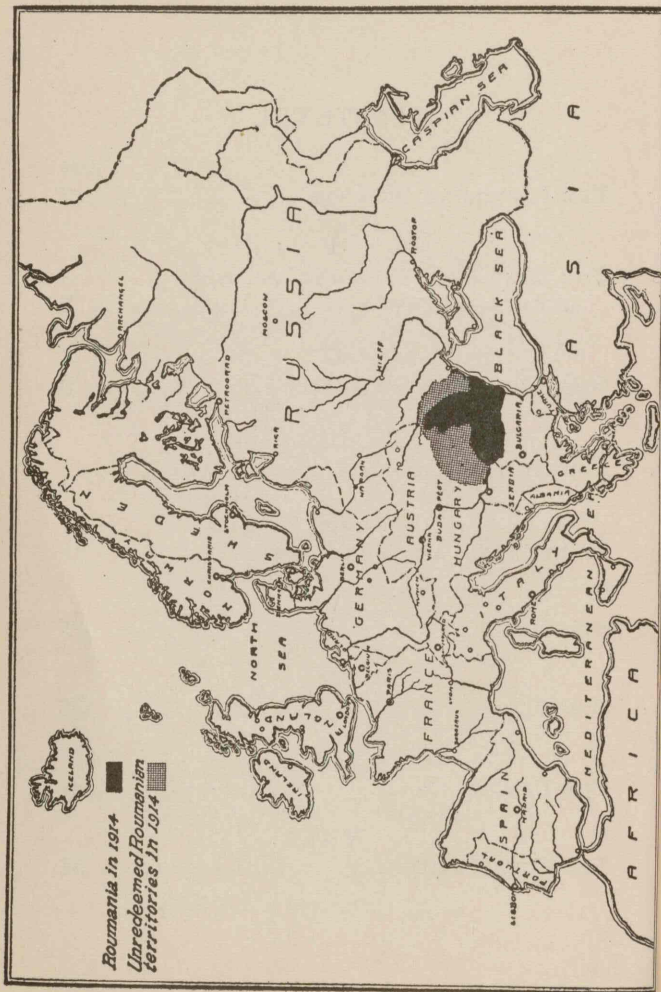
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THE ROUMANIANS AND THEIR LANDS

I

THE ROUMANIAN QUESTION

I. The Roumanian Territory and the Roumanian People.

The Roumanian race inhabits today absolutely the same territory that was inhabited at the time of Christ by the Dacians. It occupies the whole area of the former Roman province of Dacia and it numbers about 15,000,000 people. The Roumanian countries of today are:

1. The pre-war Roumanian Kingdom, between the Carpathians, the Prut, the Danube River and the Black Sea. An area of 53,668 square miles with a population of 8,000,000 of whom 7,500,000 are Roumanians.

2. Transylvania, the Adjoining Counties and the Banat, provinces occupied until November 1918 by Hungary,—between the Carpathians, the Tisa (Theiss) and the Danube; an area of 46,332 square miles, with 5,000,000 inhabitants, of whom 3,800,000 are Roumanians.

3. Bucovina, taken away from Roumania (Moldavia) by Austria in 1775,—between the Carpathians, the Czeremosz, the Dniester and the North-Western border of the Roumanian Kingdom previous to 1914; an area of 4,028 square miles with over 300,000 Roumanians.

4. Bessarabia, taken away by the Russians from Roumania (Moldavia) in 1812,—between the Prut, the Dniester Rivers and the Black Sea, an area of 17,000 square miles, with a population of 3,000,000, of whom over 2,000,000 Roumanians. About 600,000 Roumanians are scattered in the Ukraine between the Dniester and Bug Rivers.

5. The Danube-Timok-Morava angle in North-Eastern Serbia; an area of 2,500 square miles with a Roumanian population of about 274,000.

(6) Macedonia and Thessaly where the Macedonian branch of the Roumanians, scattered over a wide area numbers about 500,000 inhabitants.

II. Origin and Medieval History.

The language of the Roumanians is of Latin origin, a sister language of the Italian, French, Spanish and Portuguese languages; especially it is very closely related to the Italian. The Roumanian nation itself is the result of the powerful Roman colonization in Dacia. The Dacians were conquered between 101 and 105 A. D. by the Roman Emperor Trajan, who reseeded the country by bringing Roman colonists from Italy

and from other parts of the Roman Empire. It is from the fusion of these Roman colonists and the Dacian population that the Roumanian nation was born. Until 271 A. D. the Roman province of Dacia Trajana enjoyed great prosperity. Its population built up important cities and, what is more important, romanized completely all the indigenous elements and implanted on the barbarous Dacian soil the powerful Latin civilization. But barbarian hordes were invading the borders of the Roman Empire, and in 271 A. D. the Emperor Aurelian retired the Roman legions across the Danube into the province of Moesia. The Romanized population of Dacia sought refuge from the plains into the Carpathians difficult of access, into the present Transylvania which formed the center of the province. Between 271 and 896 A. D. barbarian nations were flowing southward and westward on the plains of the Danube. But the Roman population stood firmly in its fortress of Transylvania. It was like a rock in the middle of a great river, the waters of which are flowing downward sweeping away everything. At the end of the ninth century came the last barbarian race, the Hungarians. They crossed the North-Eastern Carpathians and occupied the whole plain between the Theiss and the Danube Rivers, and between the years 1000 and 1300 penetrated even into Transylvania. But Transylvania, the center of Dacia, the mountain fortress of the Roman population, was organized into little

duchies which resisted for a long time the strong military organization of the Hungarian invaders. The Hungarian Kings were forced to give to this country a special organization making it absolutely autonomous on the basis of its own rules and laws, and were forced to be contented only with a nominal sovereignty. Transylvania was governed by a prince—Voivod,—with the help of the nobility composed of Roumanians and of a few Hungarian guards, the so-called “Szeklers”. The Hungarian Kings brought in later also German colonists; these are the so called ‘Saxons’ of Transylvania, whose name however has nothing to do with the Anglo-Saxons. Little by little Hungarian nobility penetrated into the country and started a strong oppression against the Roumanian inhabitants, conquered the Roumanian nobility entirely and transformed almost the whole Roumanian population into a class of serfs. In 1437 the Hungarians, the Saxons and the Szeklers made a strong Union,—“Unio trium nationum”—to keep the Roumanians under their yoke. A part of the Roumanian nobility of Transylvania in the XIIIth century and at the beginning of the XIVth suffering continuously from Hungarian persecution, left the country and organized on the other side of the Carpathians the principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia, of which Roumania was formed in 1859. Thus the cradle of the Roumanian nation are not the plains of Roumania previous to the Great War, but the mountain fortress of Transylvania.

III. Roumania: Wallachia & Moldavia.

The two Roumanian Principalities developed very quickly. Unfortunately the Turkish invasions beginning in the Balkan Peninsula at the end of the XIVth century prevented them from taking creative part in the great cultural development of Europe under the influence of the Renaissance. The Roumanians for four centuries were the guardians of the West against Turkish and Tartar destruction as their ancestors the first Roman colonists stood against the flood of the IInd and IIIrd centuries.

Wallachia under the rule of **Mirtcha the Old**, (1386-1418) was not only well organized but even a considerable military power. Mirtcha fought with the Serbians in the great battle of Kosovo in 1389, where Serbian freedom was crushed for more than four centuries; but even after the unfortunate battle he was able to keep intact the independence of his country. In 1394 at Rovine Mirtcha defeated alone the armies of Bayazed Ilderim, and only after the great armies of the Christian Nations' Alliance under the Emperor Sigismund were crushed at Nicopoli in 1396 he consented to enter negotiations with the Turks, preserving still the independence of Wallachia. Mirtcha also defeated the Byzantine vassal Dobrotitch and conquered the Dobrudja of today, taking afterwards the title of "Prince of Wallachia and Lord of Silistra and of the Land to the Great Sea".

Moldavia organized first by **Prince Bogdan** (1359-1365) who won her independence at the end of the XIVth century. In 1392 she extended East to the Dniester River and to the Black Sea, and her ruler **Roman Mushat** (1391-1394) called himself "Prince of Moldavia, from the Carpathian Mountains to the Sea." The great organizer of the country however was **Alexander the Good**, (1400-1433) under whose leadership Moldavia established closer relations with Poland and with Western civilization.

The Turks curbed soon the resistance of Wallachia and threatened to invade Moldavia and then to turn with all their might to the West. Fortunately for Moldavia on her throne at this time sat a man who is considered not only one of the greatest Roumanian rulers, but also one of the greatest heroes of Christianity, **Stephen the Great** (1457-1504). Constantinople fell to the Turks in 1453 and the armies of Mohammed II were pushing west and northward victoriously. Stephen repulsed all their invasions as well as those of the Tartars attacking Moldavia from the East. In 1475 he won a victory over the armies of Mohammed at Podul Inalt, that has been considered the greatest victory against the Turk up to that time. In the years that followed he defeated one after another the Turkish armies, so that the Turks were forced to suspend all fighting against Moldavia. The Polish Chronicler Dlugosz proposed him as the head of a great Christian Crusade. Unfortunately the Christian rulers did not give Stephen

any help. They even attacked him. In 1467 he crushed at Baia the armies of the Hungarian King Mathews Corvin and annexed to Moldavia important parts of Transylvania; in 1497 he defeated the Polish King Jan Albert and annexed Pocutia (South-Eastern Galicia of today). During his life he had over 40 wars, out of which he lost only two.

But after his death Moldavia also fell under the Turkish sovereignty. It enjoyed a prosperity only under **Peter Raresh** (1527-1541) who in 1529 defeated the Austrian armies of Ferdinand and succeeded to unite again with Moldavia the greatest part of Transylvania.

During the XVIth and XVIIth centuries both Roumanian Principalities, although autonomous, were at the mercy of the Turkish Pashas and of their plundering armies fighting with the German Empire and the Polish Kingdom. The most luminous personality in all this painful epoch was **Michel the Brave**, (1593-1601) Prince of Wallachia. After destroying the Turkish forces in several battles even on the right bank of the Danube and crushing them entirely in the famous battle at Calugareni (1595) this extraordinary man in 1599 crossed the Carpathians, defeated the Hungarian armies, occupied Transylvania and in 1600 occupied also Moldavia, thus uniting for the first time since the epoch of Rome all the Roumanians under one rule and re-establishing the unity of Dacia. It was the hand of Austrian and Hungarian murderers that destroyed the great

dream of Union for which Roumanians were fighting since four centuries and for which they bled so tragically during the Great War of 1914-1918. Austrian and Hungarian mercenaries murdered Prince Michel in August 1601.

About 1700, when the Turkish power began to decline, the Roumanian principalities followed the Russian and incidentally the Austrian policy. The unfortunate result was that after the reverse of Czar Peter the Great at Stanilesti (1711) the Moldavian Prince **Demetrius Cantemir** (1710-1711) was forced to flee into Russia, the Wallachian Prince **Constantin Brancovan** (1688-1714) was taken to Constantinople and beheaded in 1714 together with his three sons and his son-in-law and the two countries began to be administered by princes appointed by the Sultans from among the Greeks of one of the Constantinople suburbs, the Phanar. This so-called **Phanariote Epoch** (1712-1821) forms the saddest and darkest part of the Roumanian history. The administration of these Greek tenants of the Roumanian thrones was nothing else but organized robbery.

During this epoch the Roumanians suffered two of the most painful losses. In 1775 after the second partition of Poland, Austria by tricky bribery toward the Turk and Russian leaders tore away Upper Moldavia, which she called afterward "Bucovina" and which contains many of the most sacred relics of the Roumanian national life.

In 1812 Russia followed the same example. By

bribing the Turkish delegates Mcrouzi and Ghalib Bey, she took half of Moldavia, the territory between the Pruth and the Dniester, which she called "Bessarabia" and which since its coming into history never was anything else than Moldavian-Roumanian soil.

The French Revolution threw a few waves even as far as the banks of the Danube and the Carpathians. In 1784 the Roumanians of Transylvania revolted against their oppressors and the revolutionary spirit and consciousness of national dignity in a short time seized all Roumanians. In 1821 under Tudor Vladimiresco the Roumanians of Wallachia revolted against their Greek rulers and the Moldavians joined in the movement. The Roumanians began in all three provinces, Moldavia, Wallachia and Transylvania, to demand also their union into a single state. The Turks in 1821 ceased to send Phanariote tenants into the principalities and appointed rulers from among the Roumanian nobility. The liberal ideas of the West as well as the bitterness against the too frequent Russian occupation led to a new revolution in 1848, when the Roumanians of Transylvania also revolted against their Hungarian oppressors. Europe listened to their grievances only after the Crimean War (1856), when she allowed the two countries an identical organization and even restored to Moldavia the Southern part of Bessarabia. In 1859 the two principalities united into modern "Roumania" and elected as ruler **Alexander Ion Cuza** (1859-1866), under

whose leadership the new united state made the most important reforms and the greatest steps towards modern European organization.

In 1886 Alexander Ion Cuza, in order to avoid internal complications, abdicated and a foreign Prince, **Charles** of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen (1866-1914) was elected in his place. Through his mother he was also a relative of Napoleon III. In 1877-78 Roumania took part in the Russian-Turkish war and it is known that only through the efforts of the little Roumanian army the Russian forces were saved from being crushed at Plevna. Roumania won her independence, but it remained with a bitter feeling against Russia, which as gratitude for the valuable help on the battlefields took again Southern Bessarabia. In 1881 Roumania became a Kingdom.

In 1913, she took part in the Second Balkan War and obtained a rectification of her southern border in Dobrudja. Under the rule of King Charles and a group of great patriots as Cogalniceanu, Rossetti, Bratianu, Alexandri, Negri and others, Roumania in the last forty years became one of the most flourishing countries of Europe.

In 1914 King Charles died and the throne was ascended by his nephew, **Ferdinand, The Loyal** as the French called him on account of his attitude towards the cause of the Roumanian race and of mankind in the great war.

IV. Transylvania and the Banat.

The population which remained in Transylvania knew from the beginning of the XIIIth century

up to the present day all the horrors of slavery. On several occasions the Roumanians rebelled,—in 1320, 1437 and 1514,—but their revolutions failed every time in the face of the coalition of all the elements hostile to them. In 1437 the Hungarians, Saxons and the Hungarian Guards, the “Szeklers”, made a strong union, the famous “Unio trium nationum”, in order to hold the Roumanians under their domination.

Until 1526 Transylvania was still an autonomous principality under Hungarian sovereignty. From this time on up to 1691 Transylvania was absolutely independent and governed by native princes elected among the nobility. In 1691 Transylvania came under the rule of the Hapsburg emperors of Vienna, but still had its own autonomy and its own government.

The Hapsburg politicians immediately after the occupation of the Transylvanian Principality started their work to disintegrate the Roumanian unity and, according to the famous Hapsburg device “Divide et Impera”, to build a wall between the Roumanians of Transylvania and those of Wallachia and Moldavia. As the Roumanians were all following the Greek-Orthodox faith, Jesuit preachers and Hapsburg officials helped also by army forces began a very strong propaganda to convert the Transylvanian Roumanians to the Catholic church. And in 1700 a part of the Roumanian clergy, accepting the many privileges accorded and mostly promised to them, united with the Roman church, although still preserving

the Greek-Oriental service. This union however had very little influence upon the bulk of the Roumanian population. Moreover a great part of the clergy that accepted the general lines of the Catholic faith, by getting in close connection with Rome, were strengthened in the conviction of the Latin origin and unity of the Roumanian race and became the apostles of the union of all Roumanians into a single political State.

The ideas of the French Revolution marked also for the Roumanians in Transylvania a great intellectual activity. In 1784 the Roumanians revolted again, but their revolution was crushed by the Hungarians and the army of the Austrian Emperor, Joseph the IInd. The national claims were laid down in a petition addressed to the Emperor in 1791, the "Supplex Libellus Vallachorum", which was the basis of the Roumanian national policy in Transylvania up to the days of 1918. In 1848 the Roumanians again revolted against the Hungarian domination and especially against the Hungarian tendencies of uniting Transylvania with Hungary. On the 15th of May 1848 a large meeting was held at Blaj where 40,000 Roumanians participated. They drew up a new petition asserting the historical rights of the Roumanians to Transylvania and protesting against any union with Hungary, and soon organized legions to fight against the Hungarian regiments which tried to keep the whole of the country under Hungarian rule and to support the idea of the union of Transylvania with Hungary.

The Hungarian Revolution of 1848 is considered in many Western countries as a revolution of the liberal elements against Austrian autocracy. The truth is that the Hungarians wanted liberty only for their own people, but they were not willing to give the same liberties to the nationalities inhabiting the territory they were claiming as being a part of Hungary. The Hungarian Revolution was crushed and an epoch of better life followed for the Roumanians. In 1863 and 1864 autonomous concessions were made to the Roumanian people, who comprised more than two-thirds of the inhabitants of the country. Roumanian schools were opened and the Roumanian language recognized as official and on equal footing with the German and Hungarian languages.

But very soon the illusions of the Roumanians were dispelled. In 1859 the two Roumanian principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia united and formed a single country full of new national spirit and especially anxious to unite under the same rule all the Roumanians. In 1860 and 1864 Austria was defeated in Italy and in the Prussian war. The Italian provinces formed a new strong Italy and the Hapsburg emperor and his politicians were afraid that the same thing would happen in the East of their monarchy and the United Roumanian principalities could become a new Piedmont. In an autonomous Transylvania where the Roumanian population was the majority, this population could very easily join the newly formed Roumania. In order to prevent

this natural course of events the Vienna politicians of the Hapsburgs decided to suspend every autonomy of this country and to unite it with Hungary. Thus the 3,000,000 Roumanians, who up to this date had to face the resistance of a few hundred thousand Hungarians, from this time on had against them the whole Hungarian race of Transylvania and of Hungary proper. In 1865 Vienna decided definitely the union of Transylvania with Hungary. But fear existed that the population and its representatives would vote against the union. Therefore the emperor Francis Joseph, and the Hungarian statesmen suspended the electoral law of 1863 which was more equitable to the Roumanians and ordered the new elections to be made on the basis of the electoral law of 1791 which gave them only **eighteen representatives out of three hundred seventy-seven** although the Roumanians were more than two-thirds of the population. The Roumanians protested with all their might, but the Diet voted the union and from this year on Transylvania was a slave to Hungarian ambitions.

Up to November 1918 the government of Budapest has repeated again and again its efforts to destroy the Roumanian nationality. The electoral legislation was made purposely to prevent the Roumanian voices from being heard. The suffrage system established in 1874 and based on taxation was contrived in such a fashion that in Hungary proper, which is inhabited by Hungarians, one thousand persons had fifty-eight voters,

while in Transylvania, which is inhabited by Roumanians, they had only thirty-three per thousand. Electoral rights have been given in Transylvania to all descendants of Hungarian nobility without considering their taxation; in 1872 out of 121,415 voters in Transylvania, 80,896 belonged to the Hungarian nobility. The electoral districts were grouped in such a way that out of 73 members granted to Transylvania only 22 could represent the Roumanian element, although as we said this element represented more than two-thirds of the inhabitants of the country. In 1914 Count Tisza made the system even more difficult by creating a law which made the right of suffrage of the non-Hungarians dependent on an examination they had to pass before Hungarian commissions. The way in which the elections were carried out in Hungary is also very well known. Mr. R. W. Seton-Watson, the best authority on late Austria-Hungary, in his book "Corruption and Reform in Hungary" gives an amazing picture of Hungarian electoral corruption. Count Tisza, Premier of Hungary, recognized openly in the Hungarian Parliament that at the last elections in 1910 he "only" used 194 battalions of infantry and 114 squadrons of Cavalry, besides the whole Police Force of the country, to "preserve order". Thus was made possible that in the last session of the Hungarian Parliament eight million Hungarians were represented by 404 Deputies while four million Roumanians were represented by five Deputies.

And this was not sufficient. Count Andrassy, the last Minister of Foreign Affairs of late Austria-Hungary, the man who in 1918 pledged to give liberal rights to the nationalities, in 1908 created a law, which fortunately was not passed, but which gave the right to vote only to those who spoke Hungarian, and it gave even two votes to those who had Hungarian high school education. And we must remember that out of the 20,000,000 inhabitants of Hungary of 1914, only 8,000,000 were Hungarians while 12,000,000 belonged to the other three nationalities, among whom almost 4,000,000 were Roumanians.

The school legislation has been even more harassing. Count Apponyi created in 1907 his famous Apponyi School Law which closed almost all the Roumanian schools, and left more than 600 Roumanian villages without any kind of school education. All the Roumanian schools, where the teaching of the Hungarian language was recognized by the Hungarian administration as "inadequate", were suppressed. In 1917 at last Count Apponyi decided to suppress all the Roumanian schools and so he closed 2975 primary schools and left the whole Roumanian territory in the clouds of the darkest illiteracy.

After the political and educational persecution came the religious persecution. The development of the Roumanian churches has been hampered by every means possible. In 1912 the Hungarian Government tried to place all the Greek Catholic Roumanians of Transylvania under the authority

of a Hungarian Bishop established at Hajdu Dorog, forbidding even the use of the Roumanian language in their churches.

The only way now left for the Roumanians to express their thoughts was the press. But the Hungarian authorities annihilated completely the independence of the Roumanian newspapers. In 1883 they even decided that all the Roumanian press trials have to be judged only by the jury of Klausenburg (Cluj) composed entirely out of the Hungarian population of this city. In 1892 the Roumanians addressed a Memorandum to the emperor, enumerating their grievances. The Hungarian Government made every effort to prevent the Roumanian deputation from being received by the emperor and immediately tried the signers of the Memorandum before the Court of Klausenburg, at the beginning of 1894. These signers were all prominent Roumanian leaders and nineteen men were condemned to thirty-four years of imprisonment. They were found guilty of "agitating against the Hungarian State." Between 1895 and 1913, the Roumanian leaders were condemned to an aggregation of 150 years of imprisonment and fines and expenses of half a million crowns.*

V. Bucovina.

Before 1775 the territory of modern Bucovina was known only as "Upper Moldavia". The

*1 crown — 1.05 French francs.

Austrian administration immediately after the tricky bargain of 1775 changed the name of the province and did everything possible to eliminate from the hearts of the population the consciousness that they were a part of Moldavia. The Roumanian church was crippled, its monasteries, founded by the Moldavian princes, were confiscated, its relations with the Moldavian archbishopric of Jassy were prohibited. The few Roumanian schools were closed and only German and Polish schools were allowed. The autonomous administration that was granted at the beginning of the occupation was suspended very soon and the whole province merged into the Galician administrative district of Lemberg.

Political oppression was accompanied also by Catholic persecution. A great many intellectuals were forced to leave their homes and to emigrate into Moldavia. It was only after the revolutionary movements of 1848, led in Bucovina by the Hurmuzaki family, that the Viennese policy allowed the Bucovinian Roumanians a little more freedom. But the same policy prevented by every means a union of the Roumanians of Bucovina with those of Transylvania in the years following the revolution of 1848. The old Austrian device, "divide et impera" was always vigorously applied by the Hapsburgs.

In order to annihilate Roumanian resistance, the Vienna Governments began in Upper Moldavia even before 1848 a strong colonization with foreign elements, Germans, Jews and especially

Ruthenians of Galicia. In 1775 there were in Bukovina only 15,000 Ruthenians against 85,000 Roumanians; in 1914 their number was about 300,000, almost equal to that of the Roumanians. Those who protested against this misbehaviour of the government were sent to jail or forced to flee into Roumania. In spite of this policy the ethnical character of the province of Bucovina remained entirely Roumanian. The intellectual forces of the country in the last twenty years not only succeeded in strengthening the national education and national consciousness, but together with the Roumanians of Transylvania, they preached and worked openly for the union of all Roumanians into a single political body, and especially for the return of Bucovina to her mother country.

VI. Bessarabia.

The fate of the Roumanians in Bessarabia was not less a tragical one. In 1812 by the treaty of Bukharest the Russians after bribing the two Turkish delegates, Morouzi and Ghalib Bey, took away from Moldavia the territory between the Dniester and the Pruth, which since that time has been called "Bessarabia." In 1856, after the Crimean war, the European Powers returned to Moldavia the Southern part of this territory. In 1859 Moldavia united with Wallachia and both formed the new Roumanian State. In 1877, in the Russian-Turkish war, Roumania became the Ally of Russia by a treaty, in which Russia

pledged herself to respect the "present" territorial integrity of Roumania, which naturally included also Southern Bessarabia. But as soon as the war was won with the help of the Roumanian troops, Russia again despoiled Roumania of her Bessarabian province. Vainly Roumania protested against this breach of faith, the Berlin Congress in 1878 allotted Bessarabia to Russia and only restored to Roumania her old province of Dobrudja lost to the Turks at the beginning of the XVth century.

From 1812 to 1917 the Roumanians of Bessarabia were subjected to the infamous oppression of Russian Czardom. At the beginning the Russians favored a fairly humane autonomous administration, but gradually they suppressed all Roumanian life in the province. In 1834 the Roumanian language was excluded from all the schools and courts and from the administration, although more than 80% of the population spoke only this tongue. Very soon the Roumanian was forbidden also as language of the divine services in the churches. The introduction of any kind of books or newspapers from Roumania was strictly prohibited. No newspaper, no book, not even a prayerbook was allowed to be printed in Roumanian on Bessarabian soil. The few intellectuals who tried to fight for the introduction of a more liberal administration were arrested and deported to Siberia.* Everywhere the Russian has been

*We quote among them only Professor Const. Stere, one of the leaders of Modern Roumanian Democracy.

ordered as the only language of the country, of the schools, of the courts, of the church. All methods, even deportation of whole villages and colonization with Russians or Ukrainians was employed in order to denationalize the overwhelming Roumanian majority. The attempt did not altogether succeed. Today in **Bessarabia out of three million inhabitants over two millions are Roumanian.** But the result was the deepest ignorance of the Roumanian population. Thanks to the Russian policy, only **ten per cent of the men and one per cent of the women** know how to read and write. And we are now in the **Twentieth Century!** This is why the eyes of the Roumanians of Bessarabia were turned with anxious expectation toward free Roumania, from where they, like their Transylvanian brothers, were hoping for their salvation.

VII. The Dawn.

The liberation of her oppressed kinsmen, especially of those of Transylvania, the Banat and Bucovina, was the aim of Roumania's entrance into the war on the side of the Allies in August 1916. She had no purposes of conquest; her fight was a fight for the liberty of the Roumanian race. History will record her part as one of the most heroic and most painful tragedies of the world. Betrayed first by the Russian Autocracy, then by the Russian Democracy, left without any help from any side, surrounded with enemies, attacked

in the face by the Teuton-Turanian forces and in the rear by the Russian Allies, who declared war upon her, after a desperate struggle of twenty months, she was forced to agree in March 1918 to a humiliating peace until the turn of the events allowed her, in November of the same year, to again enter the ranks. Her industry, railroads, bridges, cities have been destroyed. Her losses are almost 700,000 lives, a tenth of her population. The United States in the same proportion would lose 12 million people. But all these heavy sacrifices have not been made in vain. The aspirations to liberty of the Roumanian race have been fulfilled. Bessarabia as well as Transylvania, the Banat and Bucovina are today free and united with their mother country. The peace conference undoubtedly will give their liberty the final consecration. They are free by their own free will, by the unshakeable conviction and decision of their population.

The Roumanians of Transylvania, Banat and Bucovina expressed their will immediately after the war broke out. They did not want to fight for the oppressive Austria-Hungary. They surrendered and deserted to the Allies and as soon as they had the opportunity, they enlisted to fight the Central Powers. One hundred thousand Transylvanian-Roumanian volunteers with 1,500 officers have fought during the present war in the Roumanian armies. After Roumania was forced to conclude peace because of the Bolshevik treachery, the Transylvanian Roumanians,—who sur-

rendered to the Allies while fighting in the Austro-Hungarian army,—organized several legions to continue the war. A Roumanian legion of 18,000 men has been organized in Italy and a part of its units were fighting on the Italian front. Another legion composed of Transylvanian Roumanian volunteers has been organized in France and a third one has been organized in far away Siberia and its four regiments were advancing shoulder to shoulder with the other allied troops towards the Ural mountains. More than 15,000 Transylvanian Roumanians volunteered for a fourth legion in the United States. All this is history. The heroic position taken by all these volunteers, who if captured by Austro-Hungarians were always condemned to death, proves evidently the desperate situation the Roumanians had to endure under the combined oppression of the Hungarians and Austro-Germans.

The last war that can be called the "War of Liberty" has caused the downfall of all the empires of oppression without consideration on which side they were fighting. For the Roumanians the downfall of the Russian and Austro-Hungarian autocracies was of special importance. The first was overthrown by the Revolution, the second by the Victory of the Allies.

After the Russian Revolution, in November 1917 Bessarabia declared her independence and a few months later, on April 9th, 1918, by her diet, elected on the basis of universal suffrage for men and women equally, she decided to be reincor-

porated with her mother country, the Roumanian Kingdom.

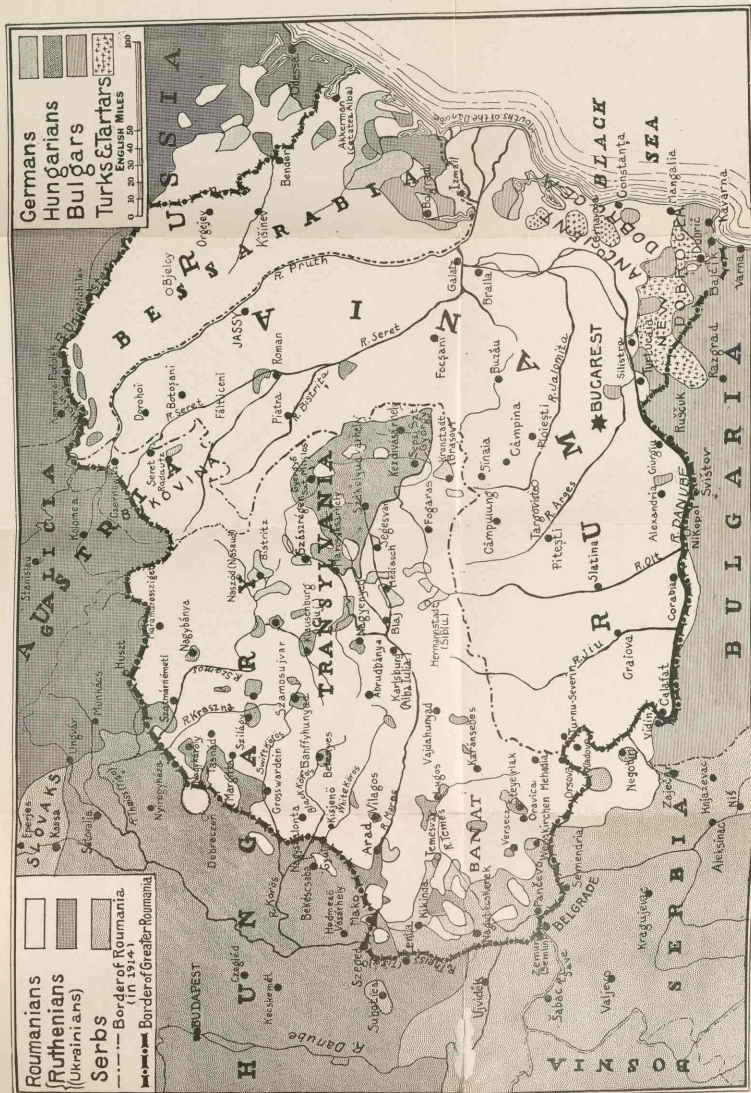
By the great Allied victories on the Balkan and Italian fronts Austria-Hungary also has been crushed. The emperor after concluding the armistice disbanded his army, ordering his soldiers to go home and to submit to their local National Councils. Even emperor Charles was convinced that such an unnatural empire as Austria-Hungary, composed of fragments of nations without any common feeling and cohesion, could no longer exist. Vainly Count Karolyi and his Hungarian associates tried to play Republic in order to save the nationalities and especially the Roumanians for the good old Hungarian exploitation. The Roumanians of Bucovina freed from any foreign rule decided on November 28th, 1918 to re-unite with their mother country, Roumania. The Roumanians of Transylvania and of the Banat organized a National Council acting as Provisional Government, demanded their complete freedom from Hungarian rule, and on December 1st, by their National Assembly held at Alba Iulia decided to join definitely, without conditions, their brothers of the Roumanian Kingdom. On January 8th, 1919 even the German population of the former Austro-Hungarian territory, the so-called Transylvanian Saxons, in their National Assembly of Mediash decided to join Roumania and a deputation presented this decision to the King and the Government of Bucarest.

VIII. The Final Settlement.

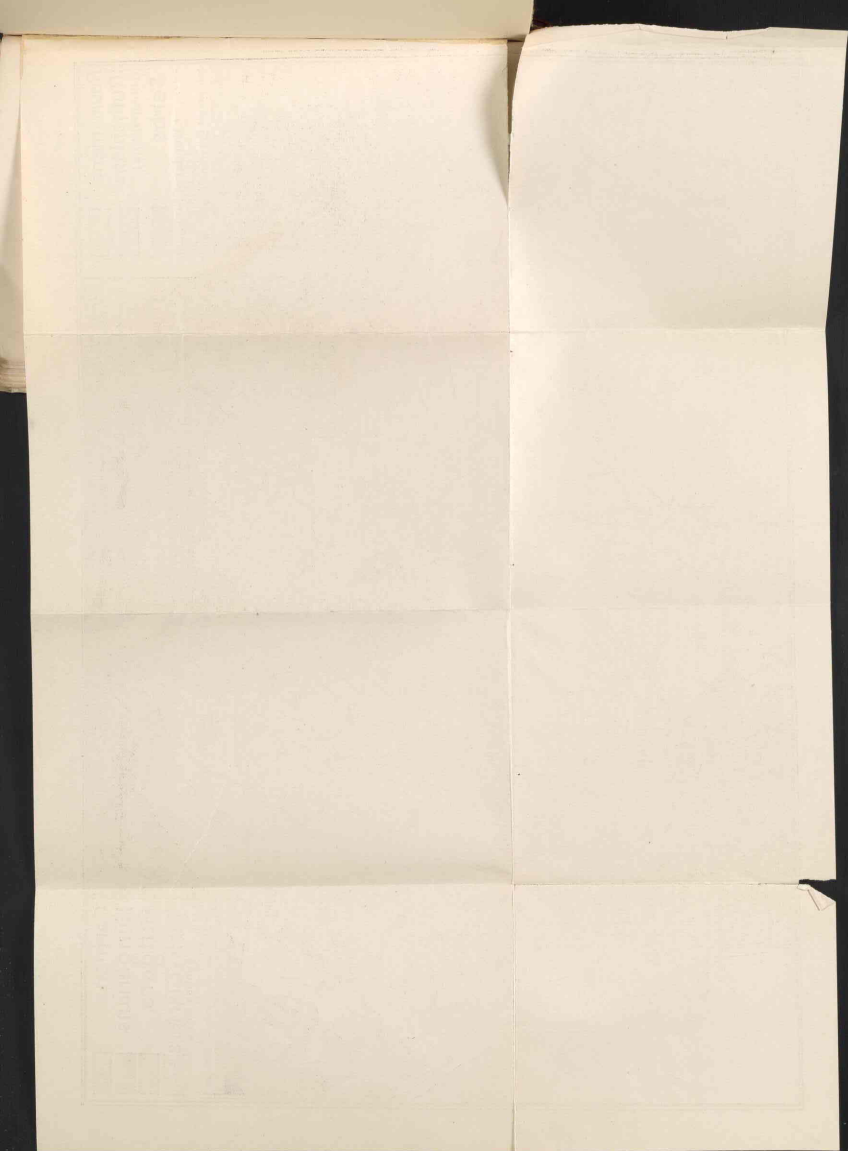
There is no doubt all the Roumanian provinces, Bessarabia, as well as Transylvania, Bucovina and the Banat, will be united with Roumania, forming thus the new Roumania of the future, the most important country of Eastern Europe. Certainly the basis of this arrangement has to be the generally adopted principle of nationalities; those speaking Roumanian have to be united under Roumanian rule. Geographic situations however impose all nations neighboring on each other to make mutual concessions in establishing their definite border lines. Wherever it is possible the natural boundaries have to be preferred to the conventional ones. Thus Roumania has to renounce her 500-600,000 kinsmen beyond the Dniester in the Ukraine, and the Ukraine has to renounce her 200,000 Ukrainians in Southern Bessarabia, in order to have again the old natural border line of the powerful Dniester River. In the same way has to be settled the question of the border between Roumania and Serbia. Concessions have to be made from both sides. The Danube and the lower Tisa are the most natural boundaries. On their right bank is Serbia, on their left bank is the Banat claimed by the Roumanians and attributed to them by Roumania's treaty with the Allies. Now in the Banat after the Hungarian statistics of 1910 there are 600,000 Roumanians and 280,000 Serbians, and consequently the Serbians claim a part of it, although they have major-

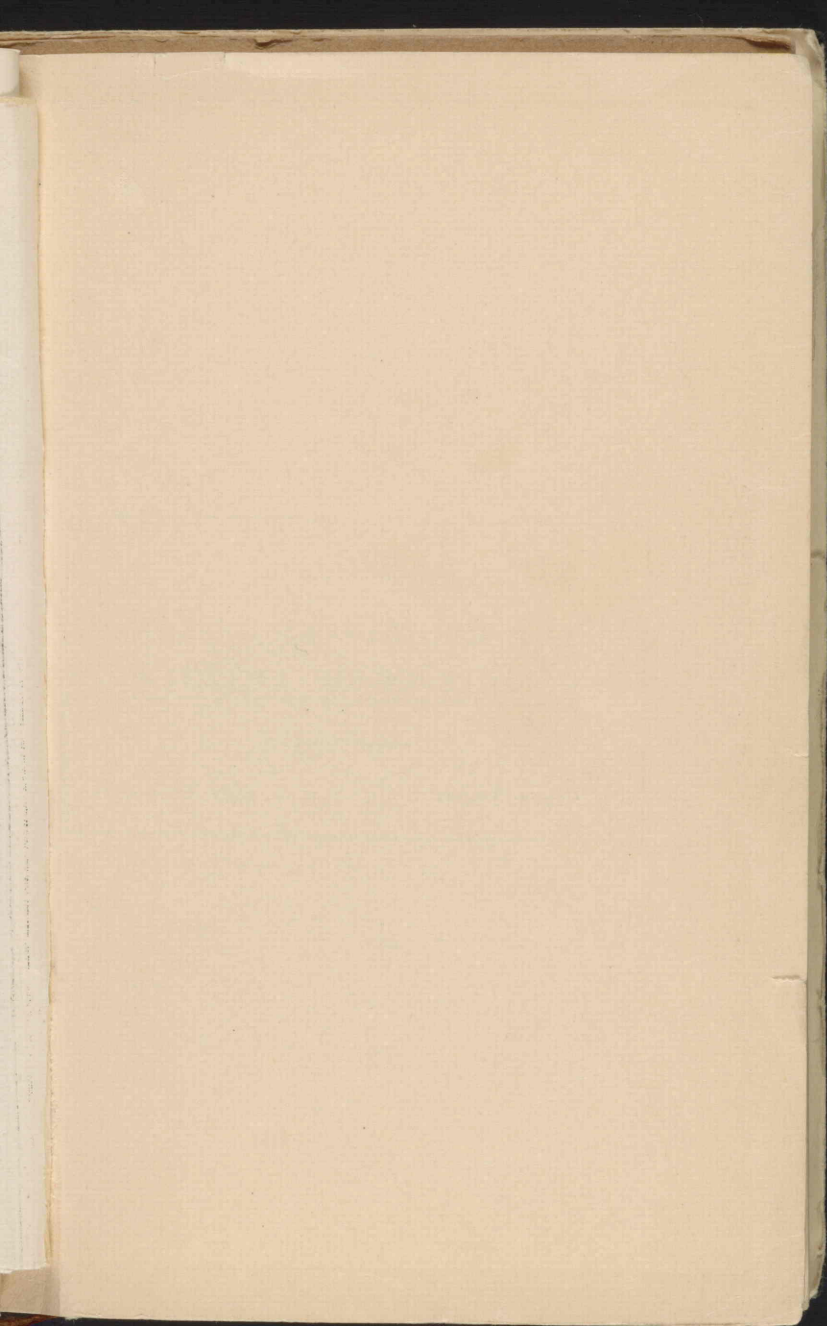
ity in none of the three districts. But at the same time in Serbia on the right bank of the Danube, in the Timok-Danube angle, especially in the districts of Pozharevatz, Kraina and Tchernia-Rieka there are according to the last statistics, (R. W. Seton Watson, Prof. G. Valsan) between 250-290,000 Roumanians, while in Southern Serbia the number of the Roumanians exceeds 100,000. Mutual concessions are necessary and imposed by Geography. The Roumanians have to renounce their claims on the right bank of the Danube and the Serbians have to renounce their claims on the left bank, in the Banat, making the Danube the boundary between the two States. If it will be necessary, an exchange of population can be carried out and thus any future friction between these two countries which in the past centuries were always friendly toward each other, will be avoided.

New Roumania will comprise a population of about 16,000,000 souls on an area of 121,000 square miles. The exceptional riches of her soil and the aptitudes of her Neo-Latin Roumanian race will transform her in a very short time into the most prosperous State of Eastern Europe.



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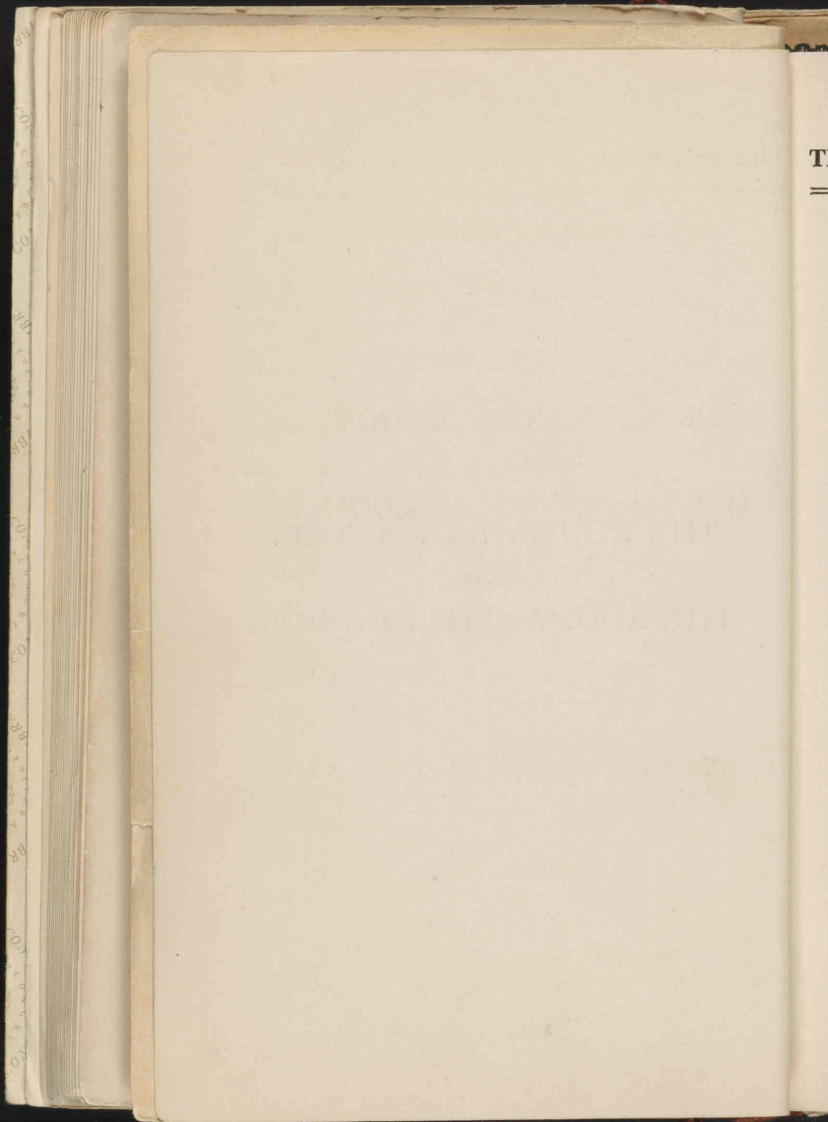




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THE ROUMANIAN NATION
AND
THE ROUMANIAN KINGDOM



THE ROUMANIANS AND THEIR LANDS

Edited by PROFESSOR VASILE STOICA

II.

THE ROUMANIAN NATION AND THE ROUMANIAN KINGDOM



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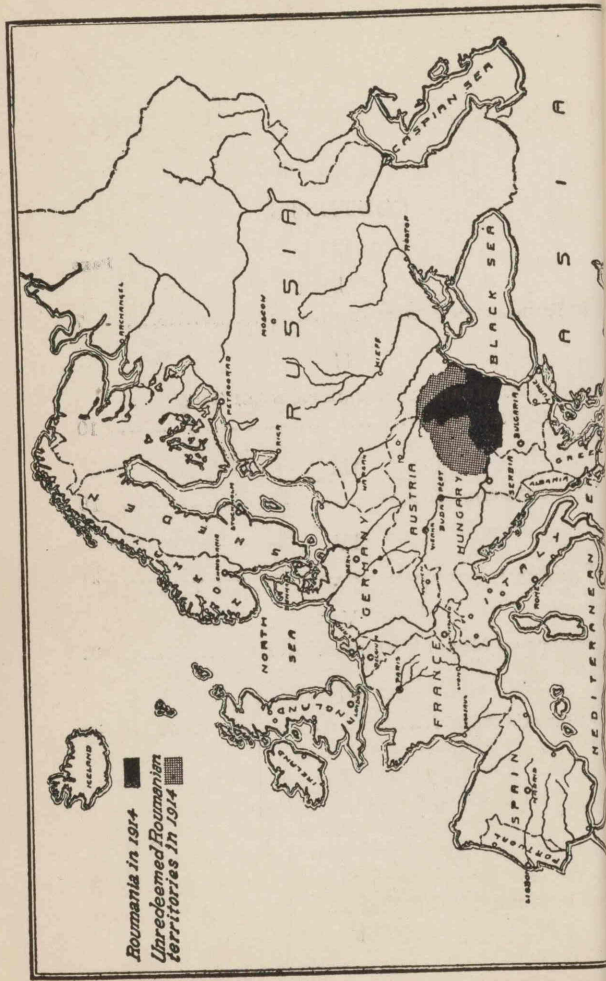
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THE ROUMANIANS AND THEIR LANDS

II

THE ROUMANIAN NATION AND THE ROUMANIAN KINGDOM

I. The Roumanian Territory.

People in Western Europe and in America usually take the word "Roumanians" to mean only the inhabitants of Roumania proper. Roumanian citizenship was always confused with the Roumanian race. They believed that all who speak and feel Roumanian were comprised within the boundaries of the Kingdom. The facts, however, were entirely different. The Kingdom of Roumania, prior to 1914, held only half of the Roumanian race. All the provinces surrounding the Kingdom were Roumanian provinces, inhabited by Roumanians, but subjected to foreign oppressive powers. The ethnical and national Roumanian territory in South-Eastern Europe is the land stretching from the Dniester West over Transylvania up to the proximity of the River Tisa, and South down to the Danube, crossing its lower

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course and extending to the shores of the Black Sea. There are also important islands of Roumanian population in the Balkans, in Macedonia, Thessaly, as well as beyond the Dniester in the Ukraine. The total number of Roumanians is about 15,000,000 souls. The Roumanian provinces are:

1. **The Roumanian Kingdom** prior to 1914, bound in the North and West by the Southern chain of the Carpathians, the so-called Transylvanian Alps; in the East by the River Pruth, in the South by the Danube and the hills which stretch South-East from Silistria to the Black Sea; an area of 53,668 square miles, comprising a population of almost 8,000,000 inhabitants, of whom about 7,500,000 are Roumanians.

2. **Transylvania** (with the adjoining country) and **the Banat**, comprising the Transylvanian Plateau between the Eastern Carpathians, the Transylvanian Alps, and the Metal Mountains, the territory to the North up to the Tisa River and to the West up to the junction of the three Crishes (Koeroes), as well as all the territory between the Muresh, the Tisa and the Danube; an area of 46,332 square miles, with 5,000,000 inhabitants, of whom 3,800,000 are of Roumanian race.

3. **Bucovina**, lying North of the Roumanian Kingdom, comprising the territory between the Roumanian border, the line of hills

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which run from west of Hotin southwesterly, and the Cheremush River nearly up to its source, an area of 4,028 square miles inhabited by about 300,000 Roumanians.

4. **Bessarabia**, laying between the Pruth, Dniester and the Black Sea; an area with a population of 3,000,000 souls, among whom about 2,000,000 are Roumanians. There are also over 600,000 Roumanians on the left bank of the Dniester in Ukraine.

5. **The Timok and Morava Valleys** in Serbia, which comprise the territory formed by the turn of the Danube before Orshova and Turnu Severin continuing and crossing the Bulgarian border, an area of 2,600 square miles with about 274,000 Roumanians.

6. **Macedonia**, where under Serbian and Greek rule there are dispersed over 500,000 Roumanians.

Thus being a people numbering over 15,000,000 souls, the Roumanian nation is greater in number than the populations of Sweden, Norway, Denmark and Holland combined. To be united under one body politic was their supreme aim all through the past centuries. It is for this great cause that Roumania made the great sacrifices and suffered the painful tragedy of 1916-1918, which is well known to the whole world.

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II. Origin and Mediaeval Development of the Roumanians.

The Roumanian people by language, temperament and physical type, belong to the Latin group of peoples of Europe, thus being kindred to the Italian, French, Spanish and Portuguese. They are very closely related to the Italians. Although in the course of their history, especially between the years 300-1000, different other races, the Slavic especially, have influenced their development, their Latin character has remained unalterably preserved. The Roumanian language, like the other modern Neo-Latin languages derived from popular Latin is so near to the Italian that any man who understands Roumanian will understand Italian and even Spanish without having studied these languages. The type of the cranium is brachycephale. The temperament is emotional. The mind clothed with a mantle of mysticism, which came from the relation with the Slavs and Byzantines, has all the clearness of the Latin genius. This explains why, under grave circumstances during the war of 1914-1918, the Roumanian people have taken the part of their Latin brothers and why, in spite of all the mingling of the Russian Army with that of Roumania on the Roumanian front, and in spite of all the Bolshevik propaganda, the Roumanian Army and the Roumanian people remained untouched by Russian disease.

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The birth of the Roumanian nation dates back to A. D. 101-105, when the Roman legions led by **Emperor Trajan** in two wars conquered Dacia definitely. Dacia at that time covered all the territory bound in the East by the Dniester, in the West by the Tisa and in the South by the Danube, having in the center as a powerful fortress the plateau surrounded by the mountain walls of Transylvania, where was also the city of Sarmisegetusa, the capital of the land. The Dacian King Decebal, when conquered, committed suicide, and so did also many of the nobles who were with him. The country then was turned into a Roman province. Trajan brought colonists from Italy and from other parts of the Empire, and thus in the healthy body of the Dacians, who were the brothers of the Thracians, was inoculated the Roman blood and culture which in less than two centuries formed the nucleus and principal dough from which the Roumanian race was kneaded. The romanization of Dacia, however, had begun even before its invasion. After the conquest Dacia became one of the most flourishing provinces of the Empire. Roads were built which are still in use to this very day. Cities sprang up: Ulpia, Traiana (formerly Sarmisegetusa), Apulum, Potaissa, Napoca, etc. Romanization reached a complete success especially in Transylvania, in the Banat of today, as well as in Oltenia (the Western part of the Roumanian Kingdom),

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and since that time also began to spread Christianity.

In the IIIrd century A. D. began the invasion of the barbarian peoples toward Rome and Byzantium. Roman life was retreating gradually from the plains of the Dniester, Pruth, and the Danube to the mountains of Transylvania. Emperor Aurelian in 271 A. D. withdrew the Roman legions from Dacia, passing them on the right bank of the Danube in order to defend Moesia and the roads leading South. The parts of the Empire on the left bank of the Danube were swallowed up by the flood of the invaders. First came the Goths, who conquered the plains of Moldavia and of Wallachia (271-375). The Huns followed them (375-453), then came the Gepidae (453-566) and the Avars (566-799). All these were predatory tribes with equestrian armies. They preferred the plains and avoided always the mountain districts unfavorable to their manner of life.

The Roman population, abandoned by the Legions, retreated to the Transylvanian Mountains and there defended themselves with obstinacy. Transylvania was at that time like a rock around which are boiling the waters in the wild rapids of a mighty river.

Pushed by the barbarians, in the VIth and VIIth centuries Slav peoples penetrated through the plains between the Danube and Tisa southward into the Balkan Peninsula and

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broke the communication of Dacia with the rest of the Western Roman world. The Romans—or Roumanians thenceforth—organized themselves in small states along the valleys, remaining in touch with the Latin elements of the Balkans, the remnants of which are today the Roumanians in Macedonia, Albania and Thessaly. Their organization achieved power, especially so as between 799-900 no incursion of note took place.

About 890-900 a new barbarian race of Mongolian origin pass the northern Carpathians and occupy the plains of the Tisa and the Danube: the Hungarians. But when they attempt to pass the Tisa and to penetrate eastward into Transylvania, they are met by the Roumanians with invincible resistance. In Transylvania there is the Roumanian principality of Gelu, in the Banat that of Glad, and in the Crish Districts that of Menmoroth. After many struggles and prolonged parleys of nearly 100 years the Hungarians succeed in reaching an understanding with the Transylvanian inhabitants. The country accepts the suzerainty of the Hungarian King, probably still under Stephen the Saint (995-1038), but the Transylvanians are guaranteed full liberty and full autonomy.

Rights were respected for some time. In the XIIth century, however, religious persecution began by the Catholic Kings of Hungary against the Roumanians who held on to their

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Greek Orthodox faith; thence oppression followed in order to break entirely the independence of the Roumanians. This is why in 1290 many Roumanian noblemen from Transylvania, especially from the Duchy of Fagarash, leave Transylvania, cross the Carpathians southward and, uniting the small Roumanian Duchies south of these mountains, establish the **Principality of Wallachia**, **Basarab the Ist**, Prince of Wallachia (1301-1330) defeats completely the Hungarian King Charles Robert in 1330 and wins thereby full independence for the country.

At the same time other Roumanian noblemen from the Duchy of Maramuresh in Northern Transylvania cross the Mountains eastward and establish the **Moldavian Principality**. The Moldavian Prince **Bogdan** (1359-1365) fights successfully several times the armies of the Hungarian King Louis the Great (1342-82) and also wins full independence for Moldavia.

Thus at the end of the XIIIth and at the beginning of the XIVth century the Roumanian people, who up to this time were united, are divided into three principalities:

1. Autonomous Transylvania, under the suzerainty of the Hungarian Kings,
2. Wallachia, and
3. Moldavia.

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At the beginning of the XIVth century, the Roumanians grouped in the three principalities covered exactly the territory of Dacia Traiana. Their fate, from a political standpoint, was divided. The consciousness of their Latin origin and racial unity, however, was never lost. Religious and cultural bonds strengthened that conscience. All Roumanians are even today of the same religion and speak exactly the same language without any dialectical difference. The Roumanian of the Banat of today, formerly a subject of Hungary, speaks the same language and understands it exactly like the one near the Dniester, who is a former Russian subject. This is why this nation had always a tendency to unite into one body politic. In the XVth and XVIth centuries whole regions of Transylvania were annexed to either Moldavia or Wallachia; some very important fortresses even in the interior of the country were in charge of the rulers of the two principalities. Under Michel the Brave (1593-1601) the three principalities were united for a short time under one Prince. The desire of the Roumanians to unite, especially from 1600 down, could not, however, be realized on account of the adverse interests of their neighbors: the Turkish, the Austro-Hungarian and the Russian Empires.

Moldavia and Wallachia, which united in 1859 and formed the Kingdom of Roumania, took a great part in the historical development

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of Eastern Europe. But the Roumanians of the Transylvanian Principality, being more and more oppressed by the Hungarian noblemen and by the German colonists, could not play any important part. Transylvania, however, was always the source and cause of refreshing the energy and culture of the two free principalities. From Transylvania came the first founders of Moldavia and Wallachia. From there also passed later in the XIXth century the first thinkers, teachers and scientists. Even today the three greatest poets of the modern Roumanian literature, George Cosbuc, St. O. Josif and Octavian Goga, are Transylvanians who found in Roumania a refuge from Hungarian persecution.

III. Wallachia and Moldavia.

Wallachia and Moldavia consolidated very quickly.

Wallachia at the end of the XIVth century comprised all the territory between the Transylvanian Alps and the Danube; then also in Transylvania the Duchy of Fagarash and Amlash, the upper valleys of the two Jiul Rivers, as well as the Dobrudja of today from Silistria to the Sea, the mouths of the Danube and the Southern part of modern Bessarabia, which, however, soon passed under Moldavian rule.

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Moldavia comprised the territory between the Eastern Carpathians, the Dniester River and the Black Sea, also Bucovina of today and the Southern part of Galicia, as well as in Transylvania, important places in the Duchy of Maramuresh and in the Bistritza District. Soon it also won from Wallachia the Southern part of Bessarabia of today and thus her boundaries extended South to the lower Danube.

Wallachia has been consolidated and raised to a European political importance especially by her Prince **Mirtcha the Old** (1386-1418). He conquered the Dobrudja of today by defeating the Byzantine vassal, the despot Dobrotitch, and extended the dominion of his country across the Danube to the Black Sea, calling himself "Lord of the Land of Dobrotitch to the Sea and Prince of Silistria." The Turkish peril appeared then for the first time over Europe. Mirtcha allied himself with Serbia and his army fought alongside with the latter in the great battle of Kosovo, in 1399. The battle was lost, but Mirtcha was able to retreat home over the Danube. On the 10th of October, 1394, at Rovine, near Craiova, he defeated completely the armies of Sultan Bayazet II-derim, who had crossed the Danube to subdue Wallachia. In 1396 Mirtcha allied with the Christian armies and took an important part in the battle of Nicopoli in which, however, the Christian warriors lost. Later Mirtcha was forced to enter relations with the Turks and

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played even an important part in the revolutions against the Sultan, succeeding thereby also to keep almost untouched the independence of his country.

Wallachia at the same time was threatened by the Hungarians and by the Germans. Mirtcha, jointly with the Moldavian Prince, **Petru Mushat** (1375-1391), formed an alliance with the Polish King in 1390, which was later renewed in 1411, when the German emperor, Sigismund became also king of Hungary.

The organization of Moldavia has been completed by **Alexander the Good** (1400-1433). He organized the administration and the Church, encouraged the commerce, brought architects and scientists from Poland and Western Europe. Not being so close to the Turks as Mirtcha, he had no fight with them. According to the treaty of alliance of his country with the Polish kings and with Mirtcha, he sent considerable aid in 1422 to the Poles against the Teuton Knights of Prussia. The Polish-Moldavian army defeated the Teutons at Marienburg, where the Moldavians distinguished themselves considerably.

But the Turks in 1393 had destroyed the Bulgarian Empire and extended their boundaries up to the Danube. They soon snatched from the Roumanians also the Dobrudja, reaching thereby the mouths of the Danube and even the Moldavian border. Mirtcha's successor in Wallachia was forced to acknowl-

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edge the suzerainty of the Sultan. And although **Vlad the Impaler** (1458-1462) recovered for a short time the independence of the country by defeating the Turks several times, his successors were forced again to subjugation.

Moldavia was more fortunate. It was not so much in the way of the Turks as Wallachia. In 1457 ascended her throne one of the greatest Princes of the Roumanian race and without doubt one of the greatest heroes of Christendom, **Stephen the Great** (1457-1504). For 47 years this brave man defended the country against all its enemies: the Turks in the South beyond the Danube and on the Sea, the Tartar allies of the Turks in the East beyond the Dniester, the Hungarians in the West and the Poles in the North. On the eve of his death he told his physician, the Venetian Muriano: "Since I have been Prince of this country I fought 36 battles; in 34 I was victorious, 2 I lost, for the Almighty wanted to punish me because of my sins." After defeating the Tartars in 1470 at Lipintzi, he met several plundering groups of the Turkish army and defeated them. In 1475 he had then to meet the most terrific struggle: an army of 120,000 Turks entered the country, and on January 10th, 1475, Stephen destroyed it entirely at Racoava. This was the greatest victory won by Christians over Heathens up to that time.

Stephen asked at once the aid of Christian rulers in order to stem the Turkish flood. "We have conquered them and we have put them under our feet, and with the edge of the sword we have vanquished them, for which God be praised," wrote he to the reigning Princes of Europe. "The infidel Turk sought to get a hold of this gate of Christendom which hinders him at our border. If this gate should be lost by us, all Christendom will be threatened. We promise on our Christian faith, that we shall stand ready to give our lives, and that we shall fight to Death for the cause of Christianity." No one, however, gave him any help. The Hungarian as well as the Polish kings were themselves too eager to lay their hands on Moldavia. Being left to fight by himself, Stephen was defeated in 1476 at Razboieni by an army of 200,000 led personally by Sultan Mohammed II, the conqueror of Constantinople. But he raised new troops in the same year and drove the Turks out from his country across the Danube into Dobrudja. New battles followed with fresh Turkish armies and Stephen won new victories over them. Particularly important were the victories of Catlabuga in 1485 and of Scheia in 1486. The neighboring Christian kings not only failed to aid but also attacked him. Stephen completely defeated Mathews Corvin, the Hungarian king, in 1467, at Baia, and John Albert, the

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Polish king, in 1497, in the Cosmin forest, near Czernowitz.

Stephen died in 1504, and his successors, owing to the failure of the Christian princes to give them any succor, were compelled to surrender to the Turks.

Thus Wallachia and Moldavia at the beginning of the XVIth century are under Turkish suzerainty. This, however, does not mean their union with the Turkish Empire. The Turks took the engagement to preserve undisturbed the autonomy and undiminished the territory of the Roumanian countries, and not even to permit the establishment of any Musselman in their cities and villages. The princes of Moldavia and Wallachia in their turn had to pay an annual tribute which grew higher and higher every year. But no matter how many misfortunes befell the Roumanian principalities, neither Moldavia, Wallachia nor Transylvania reached that stage of servitude of being transformed into Turkish provinces and ruled by Pashas, as was Hungary from 1526 to 1683. They always preserved at least a shadow of autonomy.

In the XVIth and XVIIth centuries Moldavia and Wallachia reached a state of unparalleled misery. Turkish robbery and vandalism bring the people to the point of despair. Moldavia rises against the Turks under **John the Cruel** (1572-1574). But after a struggle of over two years, John is defeated and killed in

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1574. Needless to say that oppression continued with still more vigor.

A little later, however, Wallachia rises and the battles fought under the leadership of Prince Michel the Brave, are marked as the most brilliant pages of Roumanian history.

Michel the Brave (1593-1601) takes advantage of the circumstances in which Turkey finds herself by being engaged in a great war with the German Emperor, Rudolph the IInd, and clears his country from every vestige of Turkish rule. Turkey suspends the war against Germany and sends against him a powerful army under the command of the Grand Vizier Sinan Pasha. Michel defeats them at Calugareni in 1595 and the rest he annihilates at Giurgiu. But Michel, with his clear view, understands that the Roumanian territory must be united and it must have in the center the mountain fortress of Transylvania for its defense. He therefore in 1599 conquers Transylvania, the Eastern part of the Banat and the neighboring counties, and in the same year he conquers also Moldavia, where he is received as a savior, uniting thereby under his rule all three Roumanian countries. "Prince of Wallachia, Transylvania and Moldavia" is the title Michel adopted.

This union, however, was considered a crime by the German and Hungarian politicians. A conspiracy was framed and the Hungarian

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nobles and the imperial general Basta murdered him on August 19th, 1601.

Thus the union of the Roumanian Nation into one body lasted only a short while. But from the death of Michel the Brave down, that goal became the ideal of the Roumanian people toward which they strove continually for more than three centuries.

After the demise of Michel the situation in both principalities became still more distressful. Only under **Basil Lupu** (1633-54) in Moldavia, and under **Mathew Bassarab** (1634-43) in Wallachia was reinstated for a short period a kind of law and order.

At the end of the XVIIth century, after the battle of Vienna (1683), Turkish power is weakening and it is the grip of the powerful Russian that begins to be felt. In order to escape Turkish oppression the Roumanian Princes, **Demetrius Cantemir** of Moldavia (1710-11) and **Constantin Brancovanu** of Wallachia (1688-1714) enter into treaty relations with Russia. The Russian Czar, Peter the Great, however, is defeated by the Turks. Demetrius Cantemir then takes refuge in Russia, while Constantin Brancovanu is captured, taken to Constantinople and beheaded together with his three sons and his son-in-law.

From this date on the Turkish Government itself appoints the rulers in the Roumanian principalities, selecting them from among the Greeks of the Phanar, a suburb of Constanti-

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nople, and naturally depending on the highest prices paid for the office. This so called **Phanariot Epoch** (1712-1821) is the saddest epoch in the history of the Roumanian principalities. The Phanariot princes had no other interest in the countries they ruled over than that of placing heavy tribute and extorting the population for their own enrichment, for the benefit of the great number of Greek functionaries whom they brought with them and for the purpose of satisfying the greediness of the different Turkish pashas who were ruling the Ottoman Empire. The system of government of these Phanariots was nothing else than an organized robbery.

At that epoch took place two of the most painful events in the history of the Roumanian Nation.

In 1772 at the partition of Poland Austria took from this unfortunate country the province of Galicia. Three years later, in 1775, by bribing the high Turkish and Russian officials (their names and the sums are very well known), Austria snatched and annexed to her Empire the Northern part of Moldavia, which she called afterwards "Bucovina," together with the old Moldavian capital, Sutchava, and with the grave of Stephen the Great at Putna.

In 1812 by the Treaty of Bucharest between Turkey and Russia, the growing Empire of the Czars, by bribing the two Turkish delegates, Morouzi and Ghalib Bey, tore away half of

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Moldavia, all the territory between the Pruth, the Dniester River and the Black Sea, renaming it "Bessarabia,"—which former meant only the strip of territory near the mouths of the Danube and the Sea.

But the great French Revolution could not pass without any influence upon the Roumanians. A new national spirit developed at the light of the new ideals. In Transylvania great historians and scientists presented the past and the unity of the Roumanians, their Roman origin and the aim toward which they had to strive. Transylvanian teachers and thinkers came to Bucharest and to Jassy, the capitals of the two principalities, where they met a great number of young boyards penetrated by the enlightened and liberal spirit of the French movement. The dissatisfaction with the Phanariot rule and with the Russian and Austrian tendencies of conquest broke out in an open revolt in 1821, when both in Moldavia and Wallachia the national revolution drove out of the country these Greek servants of the Turkish Governments. In Wallachia especially the revolutionary uprising was very violent and decided. Its leader, **Tudor Vladimirescu**, declared bluntly in his proclamations that: "The Country of the Greeks is Greece; the Roumanian Land (i. e. Wallachia) is the country of the Roumanians."

Under the pressure of events, the Turks ceased to appoint rulers from the Phanar for

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the two Roumanian principalities. From now on they selected them among the Roumanian nobility and these princes of Roumanian blood were those who, together with the young generation, prepared the way for the Union of the two countries into a single state.

The situation of the countries however grew more difficult every day. Their territory became the battlefield of the Russians and Turkish armies, swept over from time to time also by the Austrians. The princes and population were submitted to the vexations of all three invaders, who at the same time made all efforts to crush the rising national consciousness.

It is in this epoch, especially about 1830-1840, that the first important waves of Jews immigrated from Poland and Russia into Moldavia.

In 1848 the Roumanians revolted again against their oppressors in all three Roumanian principalities, in Moldavia, and in Wallachia as well as in Transylvania, demanding a liberal organization and emphasizing openly the unity of the Roumanian race. The Turks invaded Wallachia, the Russians invaded Moldavia and the movement was curbed. In 1853 new revolts sprung up and the Russians anew invaded the Roumanian territory. For all this suffering a spark of consolation has been given to the two principalities when after the Crimean War in 1856 they have been put under

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the protection of the seven Great Powers assembled at the Paris Congress and the Southern part of Bessarabia has been restored to Moldavia.

IV. Roumania.

As early as the beginning of the XIXth century the Roumanians of the three principalities began to work for the purpose of uniting all Roumanian territories into a single Roumanian State. In 1848-49 they went even so far as to offer Emperor Francis Joseph of Austria that Moldavia, Wallachia and Transylvania be formed into an Austrian state and be a part of the Austrian Empire,—a plan which the court at Vienna did not approve of. The Roumanian tendencies of union were met always with hostility by the Russians as well as by the Austrians and the Turks. In 1856 the two principalities appealed to the Paris Congress asking the assembled Powers to unite them into a single state and, in order to avoid disturbing rivalries in the country, to unite them under a prince belonging to a Western European dynasty. The problem, however, remained unsolved. Two years later, in 1858, the powers at the Paris Convention allowed a partial Union comprising the customs, mail, money system and identical army organization; each of the "United Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia" had to be

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governed also in the future by its own assembly and by its own ruler, who had to be elected from among the Roumanians of the two countries.

Eluding the vexatary dispositions of the Convention the two principalities in January, 1859, (Moldavia on January 5th, Wallachia on January 24th) elected as Governing Prince the same man: the Moldavian colonel Alexander Ion Cuza.

The two principalities from now on are united and take the name of "**Roumania.**" The Turks, the Russians, the Austrians protested; but with the help of France and Italy, especially with the help of Napoleon the IIIrd, the Union has been recognized and on January 24th, 1861, in Bucharest met the first parliament of modern Roumania.

Alexander Ion Cuza (1859-1866) belongs undoubtedly to the greatest rulers of the Roumanian Nation. Although his reign lasted only seven years, it marks a new epoch in the development of Roumania. He followed the national program of 1848. His first important reform was the secularization of the estates and properties of the monasteries (1863) which were mostly dedicated to different Greek religious foundations in the Near East, to the "Holy Mountain" (Athos), to the Patriarchate of Constantinople or to the Holy Sepulcher, and consequently their income was of no use

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for the country. This was followed in 1864 by the great agrarian reform which gave to the exploited peasantry the necessary land to live on. Strongly opposed by the great landlords Prince Cuza enforced this reform by a coup d'etat dissolving the national assembly and submitting the electoral dispositions for a new parliament to a plebiscite. New civil and criminal laws, then a very important educational law, have been created in 1864-1865. Primary schools all over the country, secondary schools, two universities (in Bucharest and Jassy), art schools, conservatories have been erected, education has been made free for all degrees, and thus the national culture took a powerful development.

In 1866, mostly under the pressure of the elements discontented with his democratic agrarian law, Alexander Ion Cuza abdicated, and at the recommendation of Napoleon the IIIrd, the Roumanians by plebiscite elected to the Roumanian throne his relative, Prince **Charles** of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen (1866-1914).*

The new prince continued the great work of Cuza. Gifted with a greater tactfulness and with an extraordinarily clear vision, he suc-

*The Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen are the Southern branch of the Hohenzollerns. The two branches,—the Southern is Catholic, the Northern is Protestant,—were almost in open conflict with each other for over three centuries. The half-Latin Southern branch never approved of the Prussian methods of the Northern Hohenzollerns.

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ceeded not only in appeasing the rivalrous passions inside the country, but also to make Roumania prosperous and respected by her great and greedy neighbors, the Russian and Austro-Hungarian Empires.

Besides continuing the reform of the administration, justice and finances, Prince Charles since the beginning of his rule laid great weight on the organization of the Army. This was of greatest importance in 1877, when the Russian-Turkish war broke out. The Russians after being defeated twice at Plevna in 1877 appealed to the Roumanian Army to cross the Danube, under any conditions the Roumanian Government wanted, and to help them because "the cause of Christianity was in danger." The Roumanian troops crossed the Danube and distinguished themselves in the great battles at Plevna, where the only victories until the end of November were those that had been won by Roumanian arms. The course of the war changed: Plevna fell, the Danube fortresses fell, the Russian troops crossed the Balkans and in February, 1878, the Turks were compelled to agree to the Treaty of San Stefano, dismembering their European territories.

After the war, although Russia bound herself solemnly to respect "the present territorial integrity of Roumania" which included also Southern Bessarabia, she took away for the second time the Roumanian territory between the Pruth and the Dniester and at the protests

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of Roumania she threatened to invade her with Cossack hordes unless the Roumanians agreed to this new Russian spoliation. The Berlin Congress, after Russia agreed to Great Britain having Cyprus, and Austria-Hungary having Bosnia and Hertzegovina, approved the Russian demands and in exchange for the loss of Bessarabia restored to Roumania her old province of Dobrogea, lost to the Turks at the beginning of the XVth century. It also recognized the independence of the country which three years later, in 1881, was raised to the rank of a kingdom.

But the way Russia treated Roumania as well as the Russian tendencies to drive over the body of Roumania toward Constantinople, forced this country to seek support in the group opposing Russian politics, and thus Roumania became affiliated with the Triple Alliance existing since 1887 between Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy. And whatever opinions may be expressed today, there is one truth: that the policy Roumania followed, favored greatly her development and strengthened her economical as well as her military power, thus making her capable to follow since 1912 her own absolutely independent policy in accordance with the aspirations of the Roumanian race.

In 1913 Roumania intervened in the Second Balkan War against Bulgaria, taking sides with Serbia and Greece and by the peace of Buch-

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arest she obtained a new and better defensible border line in the Dobrudja, turning from the Danube West of Turtucaia and reaching the Black Sea South of Baltchik. The territory between the old frontier and this new line, comprising two departments; Durostor and Caliacra, is the so-called Quadrilater or New Dobrudja, which is to be distinguished from the Old or Roumanian Dobrudja reannexed from Turkey to Roumania in 1878.

At the beginning of the Great War, in October, 1914, King Charles died and the throne was ascended by his nephew, the present King, Ferdinand the Ist, or as the French call him, **Ferdinand the Loyal**, (1914—) under whose masterful leadership Roumania achieved her century old aspiration of uniting all Roumanians into one strong Roumanian State.

V. Progress of Modern Roumania.

In the last fifty years Roumania made an unparalleled progress. The population doubled. In 1859 its number was 3,865,000, in 1912 it amounted to 7,800,000, out of whom, as Roumania is an agricultural country, the rural population forms 82%. The sanitary conditions which at 1850 were pitiful, improved so greatly that the birth rate which in 1888 was of 220,000 has been raised to over 300,000 in 1913,

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thus placing Roumania among the countries with the highest natality.

The form of Government is that of a Constitutional Monarchy. The constitution is very liberal and democratic, having been framed after the Belgian. The dominating religion is the Greek-Oriental Christianity. There is, however, complete religious liberty in the country. The political and economical inequality that still existed was removed by the Constitutional Assembly in the Spring of 1917, which out of the 4 million hectares forming the propriety of the great landowners, of some institutions or of the State, expropriated and distributed to the peasantry over 2½ million hectares, and also introduced universal suffrage for all Roumanian citizens. The Jewish problem, that has been so much emphasized in the last ten years by the American and English press and for which Roumania was so often criticized, also has been solved. Owing to the fact that at the beginning of the XIXth century there were no Jews in Roumania, that they immigrated mostly about and after 1840 from Russian Poland and Galicia, that they were forming even at the time of the national rebirth of Roumania a strong body of German or Yiddish speaking foreigners, better armed for the life than the Roumanian peasantry kept in subjection for centuries by the Turks and their favorite Phanariote boyards,—the Roumanian legislation in 1864 in order to protect

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the national character of the country inserted in the Constitution the Article 7, which allowed only individual naturalization by an act of the Parliament. This article was applied to everybody, but as the majority of the immigrants were Jews it certainly affected more seriously their interests and thus a great part of the Jews inhabiting Roumania were not Roumanian citizens. In 1878 the Berlin Congress imposed upon Roumania to give citizenship to all her Jewish inhabitants. Roumania protested and refused to comply with this decision. All the more so as this decision has been taken at the insinuations of Germany, which wanted to extort by this threat a better price for the German built railroads in Roumania and especially as no decision of this kind has been imposed upon the neighboring Russian Empire. To give full citizenship to all Jews immigrated into Roumania while in Russia these rights to the Jews were denied, would have meant to invite the millions of Russian and Polish Jews into Roumania and to compromise the national life of the country. In relation to the United States one has always to remember that Roumania never needed immigrants to colonize its lands. Pogroms never happened in Roumania and all news of this kind are only senseless untruths. The very fact that year after year new waves of Jews immigrated into Roumania proves that they were living better here than in other countries. In 1914 their number in the

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Roumanian Kingdom was something over 300,000. By the Union of all Roumanian territories into one state their situation in Roumania has changed entirely. In the future they cannot constitute any more danger for the Roumanian nation. According to the law of May 22nd, 1919, all the Jews born in the territory of the Old Kingdom of Roumania become Roumanian citizens by simply making a declaration that they were born in Roumania and that they never enjoyed a foreign protection. The future welfare of the Jews in Roumania from now on will depend on the part they will take in the country's national aspirations as well as in its economical and social development, and to be frank, it also will be influenced by the hostile or friendly attitude that their Jewish kinsmen abroad will have toward Roumania.

Besides the social reorganization of the country a great weight has been laid on the education. In 1850 there were only a few schools on the Roumanian soil. In 1885 there were 2,957 primary schools with 135,250 pupils; in 1915 there were 5,380 primary schools with 705,000 pupils. The same happened with the High School and University education. There were in 1908 in Roumania 179 High Schools (Lyceums) with 25,900 pupils. The University education (2 universities, 1 superior veterinarian school, 1 academy of commerce, etc.) counts 500 professors with 7,000 students. Besides

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these institutions of state there are 500 private schools with 2,289 professors and 35,500 pupils.

The Roumanian Universities are the foremost centers of science in Eastern Europe. Scientists as Dr. Toma Ionesco, Dr. A. Marinesco, Dr. V. Babesh, the great bacteriologist, or historians as N. Xenopol and N. Iorga are known today all over the world.

Roumania being a country abundantly endowed with natural riches, her economical life raised with an unparalleled rapidity, railroads have been built, waterways, especially the harbors on the Danube, have been improved and powerful lines of river navigation have been established. Constantza in 1878 was only a poor Turkish fisher village. Today it is a large, flourishing city and after Odessa the most important harbor of the Black Sea with the most modern accommodations for oil and cereal transports.

A few figures will give some idea as to the economical progress of Roumania:

Agriculture:

In 1866	457,608 tons
In 1913	3,230,235 tons

Petroleum:

In 1866 an output of.....	5,915 tons
In 1912 an output of.....	2,000,000 tons

Industry:

In 1866 not a single factory.

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In 1912 over 900 factories with a production of 500,000,000 francs.

Imports:

In 1880, 311,000 tons, worth 225,000,000 francs

In 1911, 771,000 tons, worth 410,000,000 francs

Exports:

In 1880, 1,324,000 tons, worth 210,000,000 francs.

In 1911, 4,490,000 tons, worth 616,000,000 francs.

Railroads:

In 1864 not a single yard.

In 1873..... 403 miles with 1,765 cars

In 1911.....2,175 miles with 18,676 cars

Income of Railroads:

In 1873..... 9,000,000 francs

In 1911.....124,000,000 francs

Budget:

In 1867..... 56,000,000 francs

In 1912.....500,000,000 francs

Excedents of the Roumanian Budget:

In 1901-02 21,217,189 francs

In 1906-07 52,920,424 francs

In 1911-12110,391,665 francs

In 1915-16200,000,000 francs

Budgetary income in 1911:

Bulgaria, Serbia, Montenegro and

Greece together450,000,000 francs

Roumania alone583,000,000 francs

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Foreign trade in 1911:

Bulgaria, Serbia, Montenegro and

Greece together852,000,000 francs

Roumania alone1,026,000,000 francs

The public debt of Roumania in 1914 amounted to 1,718,000 francs, which in proportion with her income places Roumania among the countries with the most favorable financial situation of Europe.

VI. Roumania's War.

The Roumanian Kingdom previous to 1914 had to be for Roumania of today what Piedmont was for Italy. Its national mission was to unite under the same rule all territories inhabited by the Roumanian race: Transylvania, the Banat and Bucovina which were oppressed by Austria-Hungary, as well as Bessarabia which was under Russian yoke. The war imposed by the Central Powers upon the world decided Roumania's attitude; the total destruction of the Serbians would have meant the immediate slavery of the other smaller nations of South-Eastern Europe, and consequently the total slavery of the Roumanian race. From the very beginning public opinion and Government in Roumania were decided for war on the side of the Western Allies against Austria-Hungary, in order to free Transylvania, the

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Banat and Bucovina. So much so that one of the former ministers, late N. Filipesco, head of the Conservative Party, declared that he "preferred to see Roumania crushed on the side of France than victorious on the side of Germany." She could not enter the great whirlpool in 1914 because of great political and military reasons. Roumania had to rely for immediate help only on her Russian neighbor. She knew since 1878 (the case of Bessarabia), that also for Russia treaties are only "scraps of paper," and she had little confidence in the Russian military organization. Besides Roumania's military preparation was not completed for the new modern warfare. It was lacking in artillery and machine guns.

However, the military situations, especially on the Western front, impelled Roumania to enter the war before she could be sufficiently prepared. In June, 1916, on the Eastern front, the offensive forces of the Russians had been definitely curbed. The Germans had everywhere the upper hand and a great German army was concentrating in the direction of Kovel, decidedly to break the weak Russian lines and to march upon Moscow. On the Western front the terrific battle of Verdun was at its climax, the great fortresses fell one after another, and the German forces were standing before the last French line of defense at Fort Fleury. The German pressure was so enormous that all political and military circles of

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the Allies were afraid that the front would break with tragical consequences. It was amidst these events that on July 6th, 1916, the Allied Powers through the French Military Attache, Major Pichon, delivered to Roumania an ultimatum: either to enter immediately the war on their side, or to renounce forever her century-old ideal of uniting all the Roumanians. The fate of Roumania was decided. On August 16th a Treaty of Alliance had been concluded with France, Great Britain, Russia and Italy—Russia being at the same time the spokesman of Serbia—by which treaty it had been defined that all Roumanian territories of Austria-Hungary, including the whole of the Banat between the Muresh, Tisa and Danube Rivers, would be united with the Roumanian Kingdom. At the same time a Military Convention was signed by which the Allies pledged themselves to provide the Roumanian Army with all necessary military equipment, ammunition, machine guns and heavy artillery, to send the necessary reserve forces and, eight days before Roumania's entrance into the war, to start a powerful offensive at Salonica and in Galicia, in order to facilitate for the Roumanian Army the crossing of the Carpathians and the shortening of its front in Transylvania. On August 27th, 1917, Roumania entered the war against Austria-Hungary and the Teuton allies, and the Roumanian forces crossed the Carpathians,

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opened the mountain passes for the Russian troops concentrated in Bucovina and Galicia, and drove with great rapidity into the center of Transylvania. But Allied help, in spite of the Military Convention, failed entirely. The Allied Army under General Sarraill at Salonica was unable to move forward on account of malaria and its insignificant number which enabled the German commander, General Mackensen, to concentrate a powerful army on Roumania's Southern frontier, to push into the Dobrudja and later even to cross the Danube. The Russian Army under General Brusiloff in Galicia remained entirely inactive, as the whole Russian front in Volhynia and the Baltic Countries, which enabled the other great German commander, General Falkenhayn, to take considerable forces from that front and to concentrate them against the Roumanians. Eight special German shock troop divisions have been brought into Transylvania from the Western front, especially from Verdun and the Somme River, by which the dangerous situation of the Allies on that front had been definitely relieved. The heavy artillery promised by the Allies was withheld in Russia, the Roumanian machine guns sent from France by way of Archangel were installed by Minister Protopopoff on the house roofs of Petrograd to crush the Revolution—and immediately after their entrance into the battles the Roumanian troops were left alone to face the

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two great German armies. The Russians only sent two divisions into the Dobrudja, which both were composed of weak and poor fighters, commanded by a much weaker staff of officers. Thus the Roumanian forces had to protect alone all the borders of the country. They numbered 23 divisions on a front of 800 miles. The front in France from the channel to Switzerland was only 430 miles long—and was defended by four and one-half millions of fighters provided with the best modern weapons. The Central Powers concentrated against the Roumanians 38 divisions, and in December 1916 they brought 5 more, the number of their divisions at the end of the year amounting to 43.

In face of the overwhelming power of the enemy, the Roumanian troops retreated at the beginning of October to the Carpathians, where they fought desperately for two more months, defending the mountain passes leading into Roumania. Unfortunately, there were no more reserves; the same troops were fighting for 50-60 days incessantly in the first lines. Some divisions were reduced even to 5,000 men. On the Jiul River the Eleventh Roumanian Division had to fight for two weeks against three German divisions, out of which the Eleventh Bavarian Division had been entirely annihilated or captured.

Attacked from the South, West and North by superior forces with a perfect war ma-

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chinery, the Roumanian troops after a desperate struggle had to yield to the circumstances and in order to shorten the front, the First Roumanian Army, at the middle of November, after it won under the heroic General Dragalina (who died on the battlefield) the great victory on the Jiul, began to retreat toward the East, leaving Western Roumania in the hands of the enemy.

The retreat was a continuous series of violent counter-attacks. Before Bucharest, on the Argesh River, the Roumanian forces at the beginning of December, 1916, gave once more a desperate battle to stop the foe and to save the capital. All available man power, even the military schools, were in the first lines. The battle was won, when on the left wing the enemy with great losses succeeded in breaking the lines of a Roumanian division. Lacking wholly Roumanian reserves, the Roumanian command appealed to the Russian divisions, which began to arrive in order to protect the Roumanian retreat, and summoned them to replace the shattered Roumanian division. The Russian commanding general refused to take part in the battle, because "he had received orders from his General Staff to direct his troops toward the North." The battle was lost, Bucharest fell, and the Roumanian troops had to retreat further East to the Sereth River, where in January, 1917, with the help of new Russian troops they succeeded in stopping the

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Teuton drive. And Commissioner Polivanov reported immediately to his government in Petrograd that the tragical reverse of Roumania is not at all in contradiction with the plans and interests of the Russian Empire.*

At the beginning of January, 1917, the whole Roumanian Army was in Moldavia; there was besides the Moldavian population also an enormous number of refugees from Wallachia, and more than one million of Russian troops were arriving from Russia, well provided with arms and ammunition, but without the necessary food supply. In less than two months all Roumanian supply stores were emptied. And then whole villages and towns fell victims to famine and epidemics, especially to the terrific spotted typhus fever.

It was amidst these difficulties, that the Roumanian General Staff under General Presan and the French Military Mission of General Berthelot undertook the reorganization of the Roumanian Army. In June, 1917, this Army, reduced to 15 divisions, but better equipped and better instructed than in August, 1916, was ready for the expected offensive of revenge. The two Roumanian Armies and the group of reserves were preparing for the great battle that had to come.

*Published by the Bolshevik Government; printed also in "Roumania's Sacrifice" by G. Negulesco, Century Co., New York, 1918.

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Unfortunately, the Russian power was waning. After the overthrow of the Czar in March 1917, the Russian troops, in spite of the sounding messages from Petrograd, lost every spirit of discipline. Their revolutionary committees were even recommending the fraternizing with the enemy. The Russian High Command became more powerless every day. Out of the four Russian armies (together 1,200,000 troops) fighting at the right and left flanks of the Roumanians, there was but one seemingly willing to fight.

At the end of July, 1917, the Second Roumanian Army under General Averesco started with a great success the long expected offensive. In two days the enemy lines were broken on a front of 20 miles and the Roumanian troops were sweeping forward victoriously. The first Roumanian Army was joining in, when the Russian Armies refused to advance. An order came from Prime Minister Kerensky to the Russian commander, General Shtcherbatchoff, to stop any offensive movement of the Russian forces and to direct the reliable VIIIth Army to the front of Bucovina and Galicia, where the troops of General Korniloff were leaving the battlefield and retreating with music. Roumanian regiments had now to take over also the front of the VIIIth Russian Army. The Germans, well informed, concentrated in the important points of junction at Marasheshi and Oituz a great number of fresh

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shock troops and on August 2nd started a series of terrific attacks against the Russian-Roumanian lines, with the purpose of breaking through and advancing upon Odessa. The Russian troops ceded everywhere and were replaced immediately by Roumanians. After the third day of the German offensive there were on the front only Roumanian troops which not only defended their lines desperately, but even succeeded in recapturing a part of the defenses lost by the Russians. The bravery of the Roumanian peasant-fighters was stirred to its climax by the presence in the trenches of King Ferdinand, who during these days was sharing with his soldiers all the dangers of the fearful struggle.

After three weeks of useless bleeding, the Teuton avalanche was definitely curbed. It cost ten German and several Austro-Hungarian divisions. It was the first time that the "great front breaker," General Mackensen, was defeated.

But no power could stop the dissolution of the Russian Army. In October, 1917, the Kerensky Government was overthrown. The Bolsheviki Lenine and Trotzky, who took his place, decided to make peace at any price with the enemy and were carrying on among their own troops the most unscrupulous propaganda for peace, socialism and disobedience. A great number of Russian officers were killed by their own troops and whole divisions left the

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trenches and started on their way home. Vainly the Allies with the Roumanian and Russian Commands tried to organize a Ukrainian army to still maintain the front north of the Roumanian forces; all troops of the Russian Empire were poisoned by the Bolshevik disease and no unit was willing to continue the fight. Amidst all these circumstances, the Roumanian troops remained unshakable in their discipline. Everywhere they took over the Russian trenches and repulsed obstinately the attacks of the enemy. At the beginning of December they were holding a front of over 350 miles.

Then the Bolshevik Government declared war upon Roumania and ordered the half disbanded Russian troops to arrest the Roumanian King, the Roumanian government and the Roumanian generals, as they were considered the greatest obstacles to the peace on the Eastern front, and to establish also in Roumania a Soviet Republic.

Immediately over one million Russians began to shell the cities of Faltitcheni, Dorohoi, Galatzi and to attack the Roumanian troops from the rear. It was necessary to take several Roumanian divisions from the front, where they were facing the Germans and Hungarians, and to drive the plundering Russians out of the country. As meanwhile Bessarabia in November became the independent "Moldavian Republic of Bessarabia" and was a vic-

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tim to the same devastations as Roumania, at the call of the Bessarabian Diet Roumanian troops, headed by an Allied general, passed the Pruth River and with the help of improvised local forces cleared up the unfortunate country of all pillaging Russian soldier bands.

However, an armistice was signed for the whole of the Eastern front. Then, in January and February, 1918, the German and Austro-Hungarian armies advanced North of the Roumanian front upon Kiev, then South upon Odessa and at the end of February Roumania was surrounded from every side. Without any help from any of the Allies, without ammunition and medical supplies, without a Korfu where to retreat as Serbia did—the Allied command saw that a further resistance was impossible. After a repeated German ultimatum, sent by General Mackensen, the Roumanian Government was forced to agree to the painful Bucharest Treaty of March 27th, that will go down into history as one of the most fearful treaties ever imposed by a nation upon another.

The terms of this treaty had to enslave forever the national life of Roumania. Besides losing a sixth of her territory, as well as any outlet to the sea, she had to hand over to Germany and Austria-Hungary all the Roumanian oil fields, forests, fisheries, factories, banks, railroads, telegraphs, telephones, mail and mines, which all had to be entirely or partially under German or Austro-Hungarian control;

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she had to pay over five billion francs as indemnities and contributions to the Central Powers; she had to submit all her exports and imports to Teuton dispositions, to amnestiate all the slackers, spies and traitors who helped the German invasion, and to admit and promote German colonization on her territory.

These heavy conditions raised a deep hatred in the Roumanian people against Germany and her associates. King Ferdinand refused to put his signature to such a treaty and with a group of faithful retreated to the Bicaz Castle in the Carpathians, awaiting the great Allied victory of which he never had any doubt.

A slight consolation was the patriotic decision of Bessarabia, which after 106 years of slavery under Russian yoke, by a unanimous vote of her National Assembly on April 9th united again with Roumania. The Roumanian forces also were able to keep their arms until the turn of events facilitated again their entry into the fighting ranks.

But the losses Roumania endured were enormous. Out of an army of 700,000 fighters she lost 327,000 dead, besides a great number of wounded and mutilated. About the same is the number of the losses out of the civilian population on account of epidemics and starvation. As the total population of Roumania previous to the war was about 8,000,000 souls, she lost almost a tenth of her inhabitants; the United States would lose proportionately 11,-

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000,000 people. And who could estimate the value of the destroyed bridges, railroads, dismantled factories, or of the rich Roumanian oil wells and oil refineries.

However, the day of reckoning arrived. In October, 1918, the Teuton-Hungarian forces were crushed on the French and Italian fronts as well as in the Balkans. The Allied Armies of Salonica, under General Franchet d'Esperey, approached the Danube, Austria-Hungary turned into a turmoil of national revolutions, the once proud Austro-Hungarian Army was disbanded and the Roumanians of Transylvania, Banat and Bucovina took the power over their country in their own hands. On November 5th Roumania entered again the war and in one week's time the famous Mackensen Army was swept away from Roumania, while its remnants were captured by the newly organized troops of the Transylvanian Roumanians.

On November 28th Bucovina joined again Roumania and on December 1st the Union with Roumania was unanimously voted also by the Great National Assembly of Transylvania and the Banat. The armies of the Roumanian Kingdom crossed again the Carpathians and together with the forces of the redeemed provinces after a few battles with Hungarian troops and several diplomatic difficulties, occupied in former Austria-Hungary all territories inhabited by Roumanians, with the exception

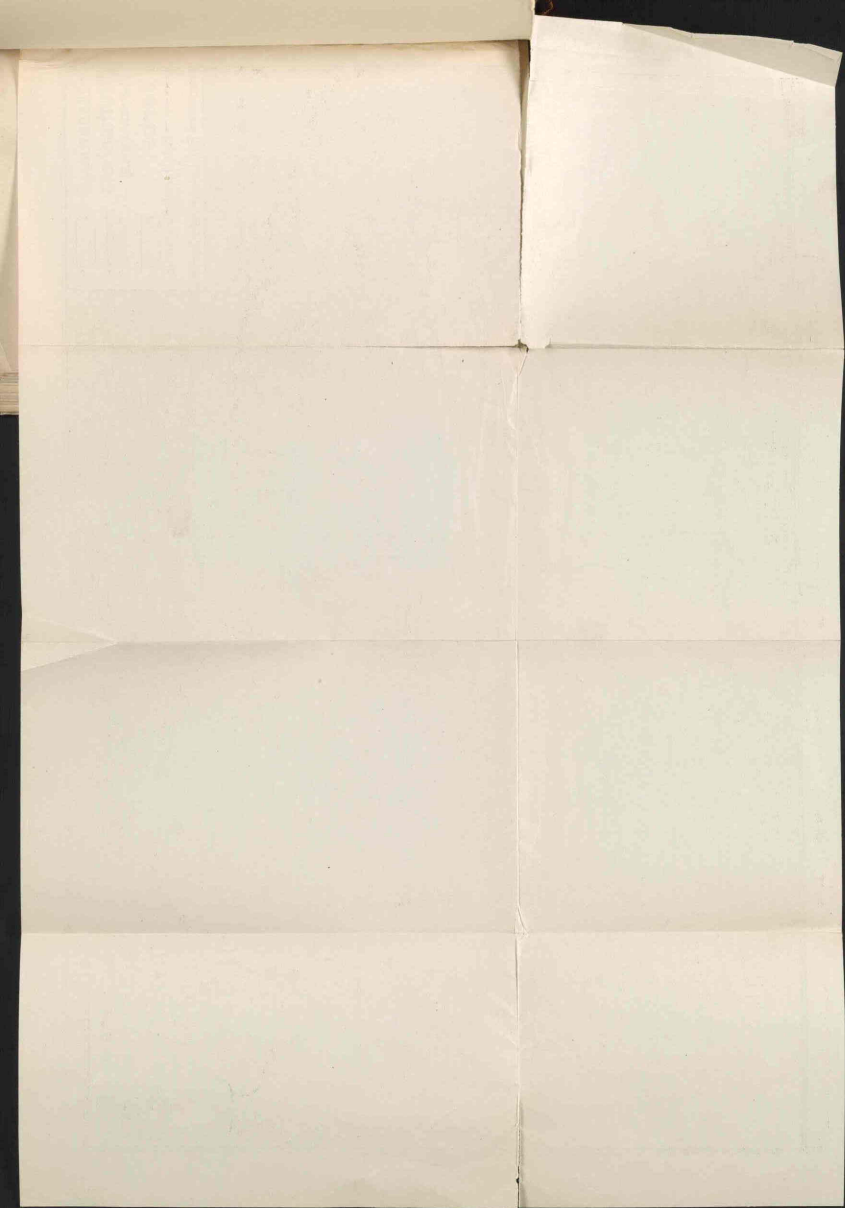
THE ROUMANIAN KINGDOM

of the Western part of Banat, which has been occupied temporarily by the Serbians.

Thus the great ideal of Union for which the Roumanians struggled incessantly all through the past centuries, has been definitely achieved.

The overthrow of tyrannies has brought justice to the oppressed. The collapse of Russia freed Bessarabia, while the defeat of Austria-Hungary freed Transylvania, the Banat and Bucovina. The Roumanian lands are at present united into one Roumanian State from the Dniester to the Tisa, comprising 122,000 square miles with about 16,000,000 inhabitants who all with very few exceptions are of the same Latin race, speak the same language, have the same creed and aspirations. On account of her enormous natural wealth and her intelligent Neo-Latin inhabitants, United Roumania very shortly will be the most prosperous and most powerful country of South-Eastern Europe.

Numbers III. and IV. of our Series will be "Bessarabia" and "Dobrogea". Both studies have been prepared for us by Mr. N. H. Lahovary, to whom we are under deepest obligation for this help and courtesy.—V. S.





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THE ROUMANIANS AND
THEIR LANDS

EDITED BY PROFESSOR VASILE STOICA

III

BESSARABIA

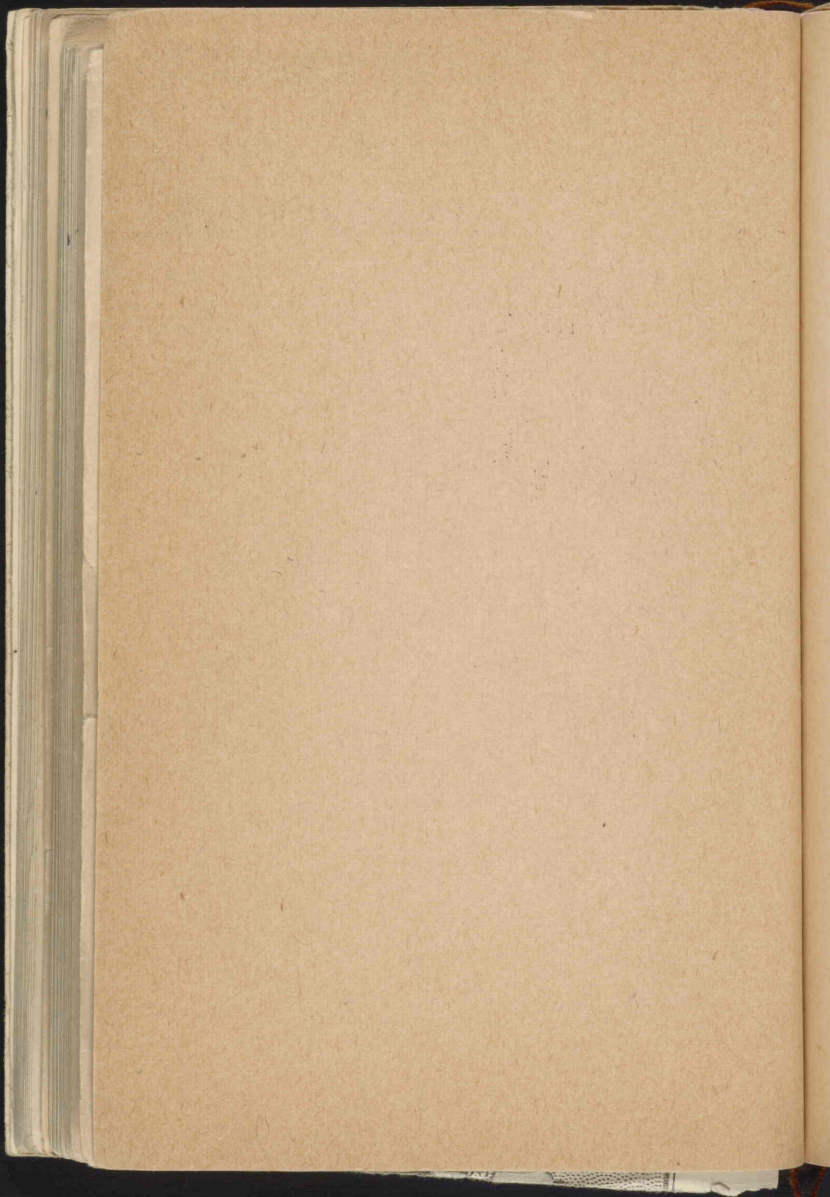
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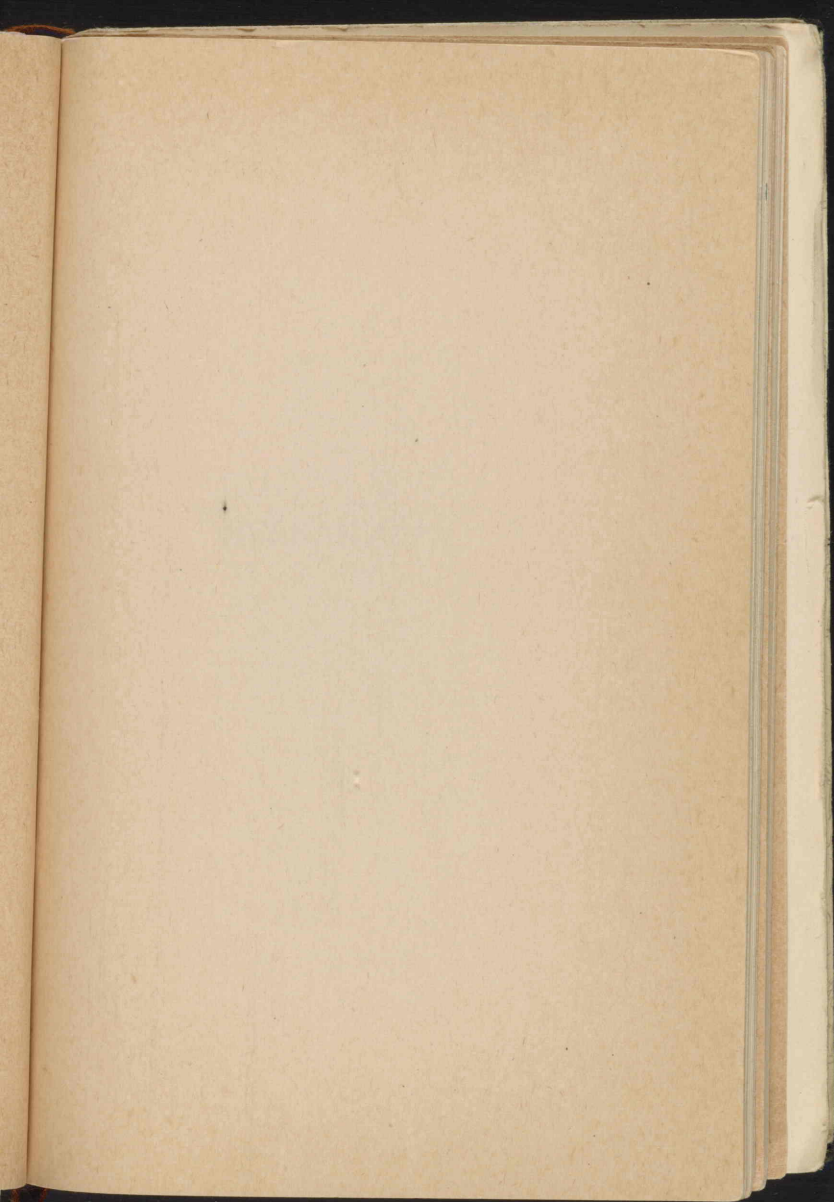
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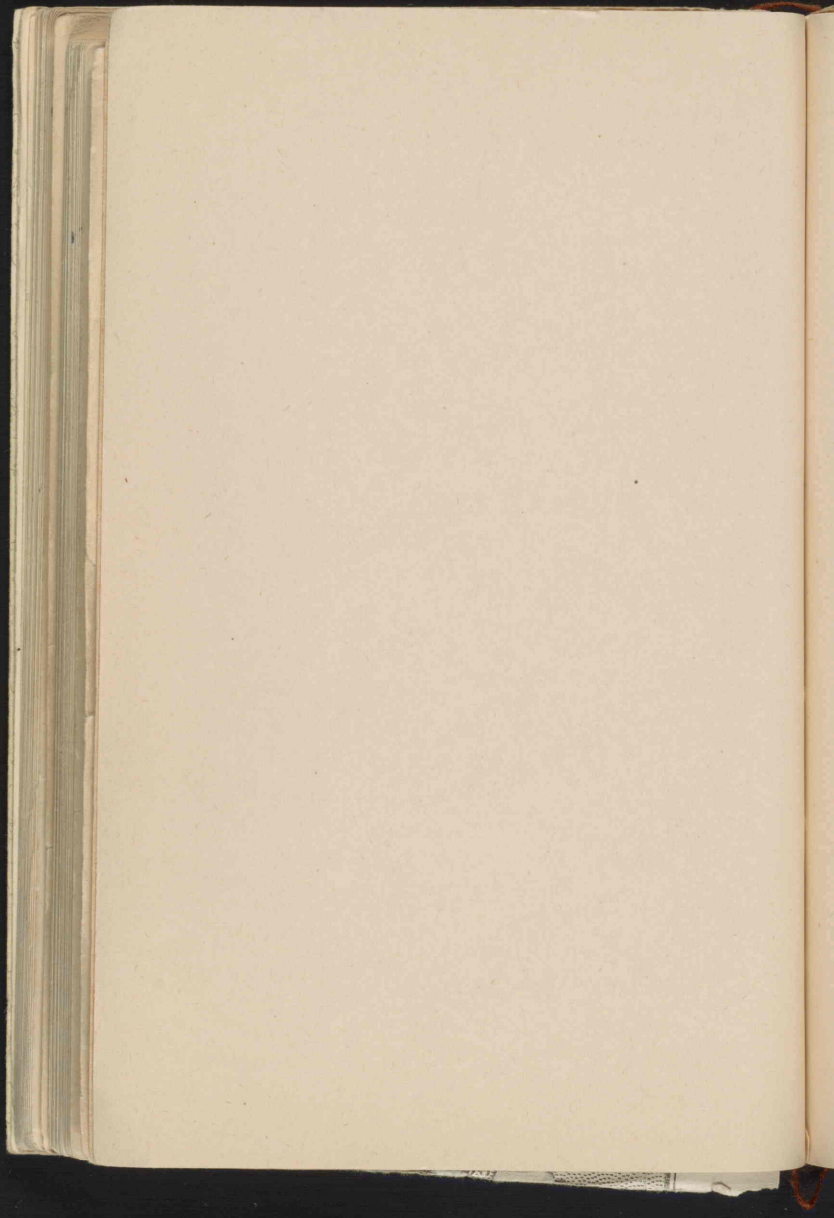
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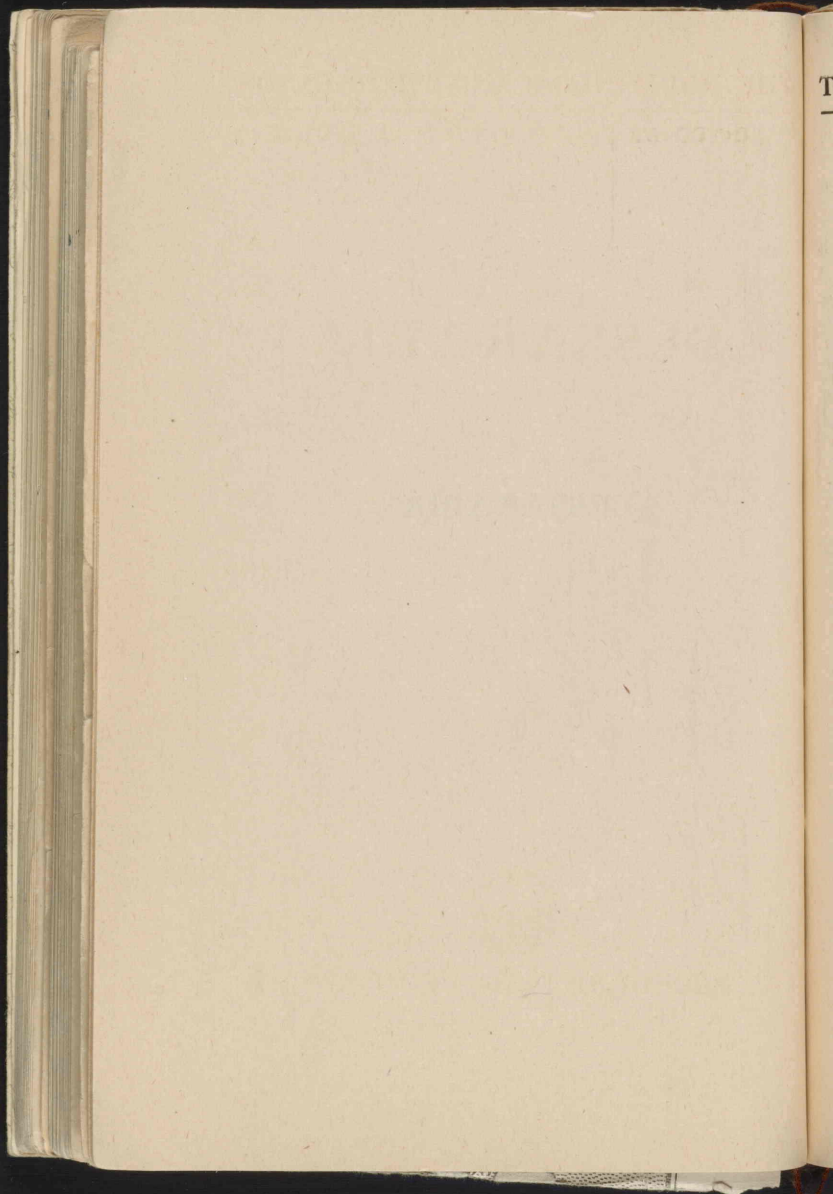
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BESSARABIA



THE ROUMANIANS AND THEIR LANDS

EDITED BY PROFESSOR VASILE STOICA

III

BESSARABIA



NEW YORK

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By Vasile Stoica*

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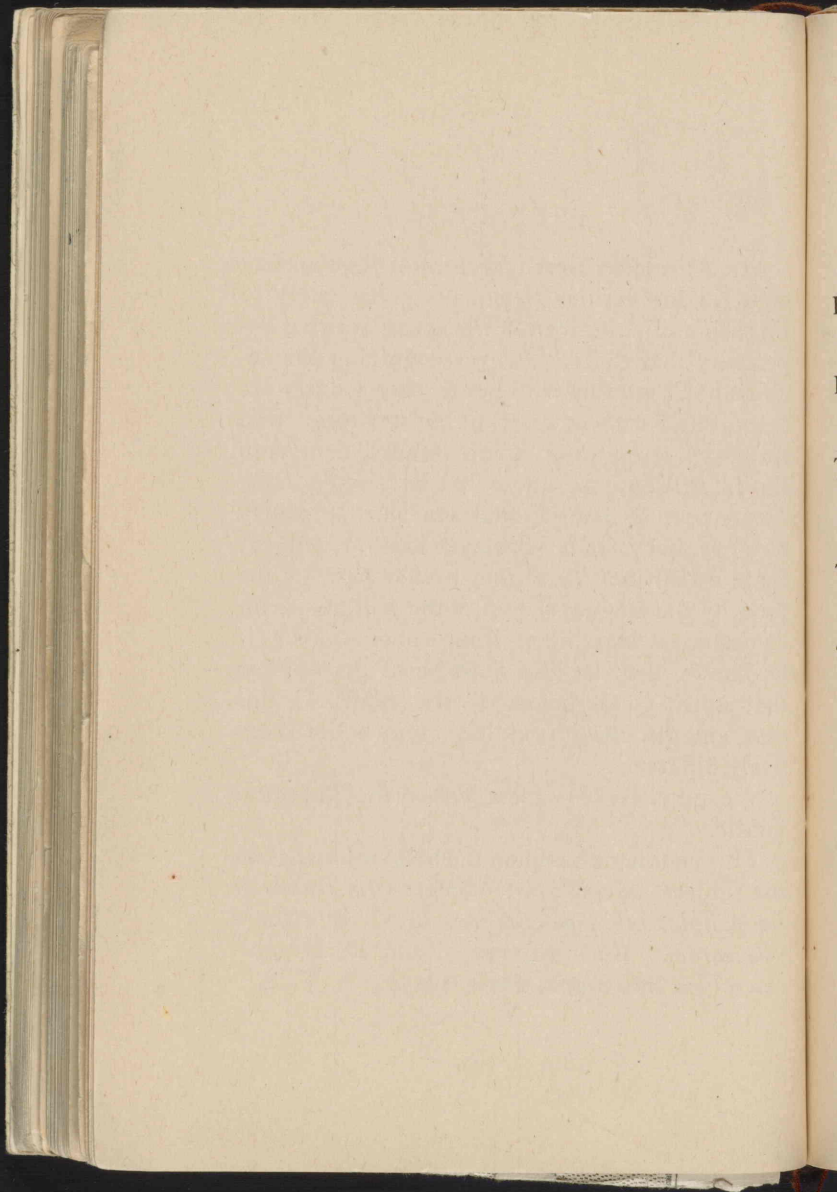
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PREFACE

Mr. Alexander Kerensky, former Russian dictator, in his various statements given lately to English and American newspapers, asserted repeatedly that the Allies by recognizing the reunion of Bessarabia with her mother country are despoiling Russia of a part of her territory. Mr. Kerensky seems to be a fair-minded democrat. But he still does not know that Bessarabia never was a part of Russia, that the Russian policy tore her away from Moldavia in 1812, only by force and bribery, and that by her past, by the race, by the language, and by the will of her inhabitants, Bessarabia is Roumanian soil, or, if he knows, then he also must be of the opinion that stolen goods belong to the thief. In this case, any discussion is useless. Our belief is entirely different.

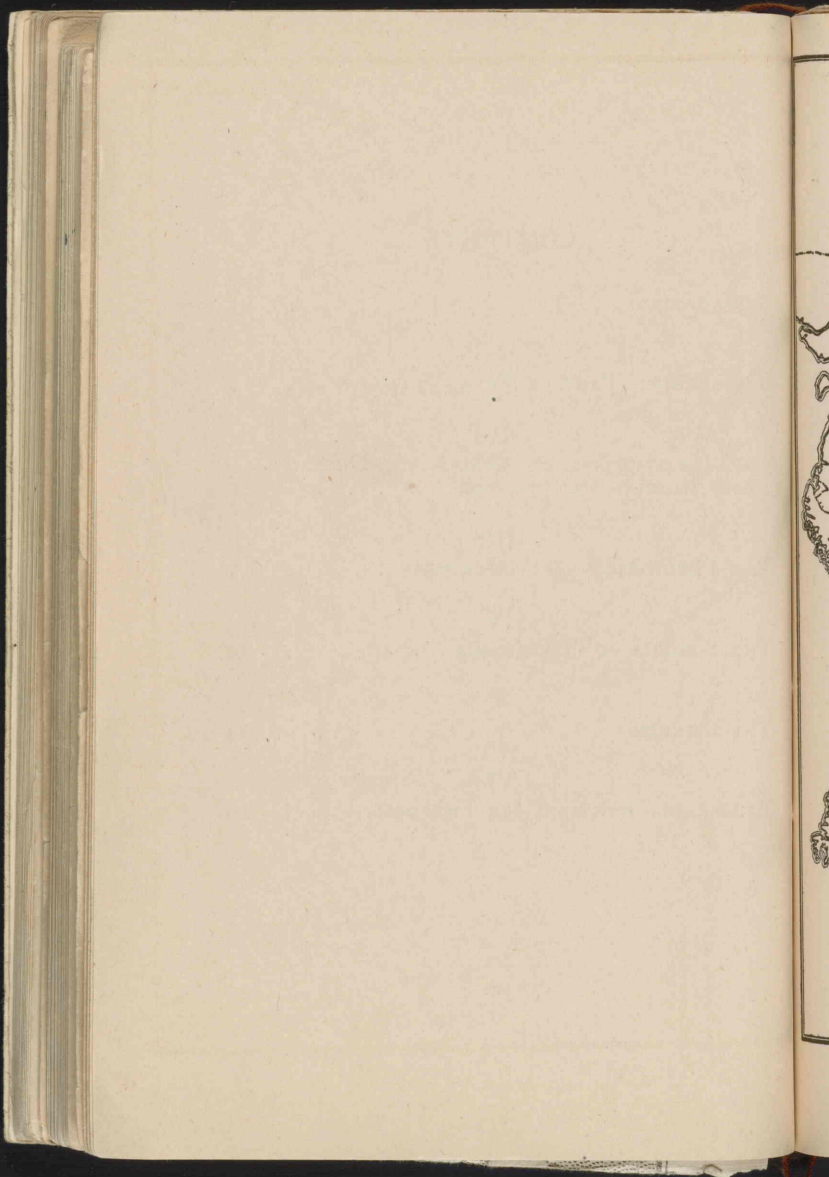
We put here the facts before the impartial public.

This booklet is based on the best authorities on the subject: Messieurs Irodonetz (*La Russie et les peuples allogènes*, Berne, 1917), Z. Arbore (*Bessarabia*, Bucarest, 1905), and D. Draghicesco (*La Bessarabie*, Paris, 1917). V. S.

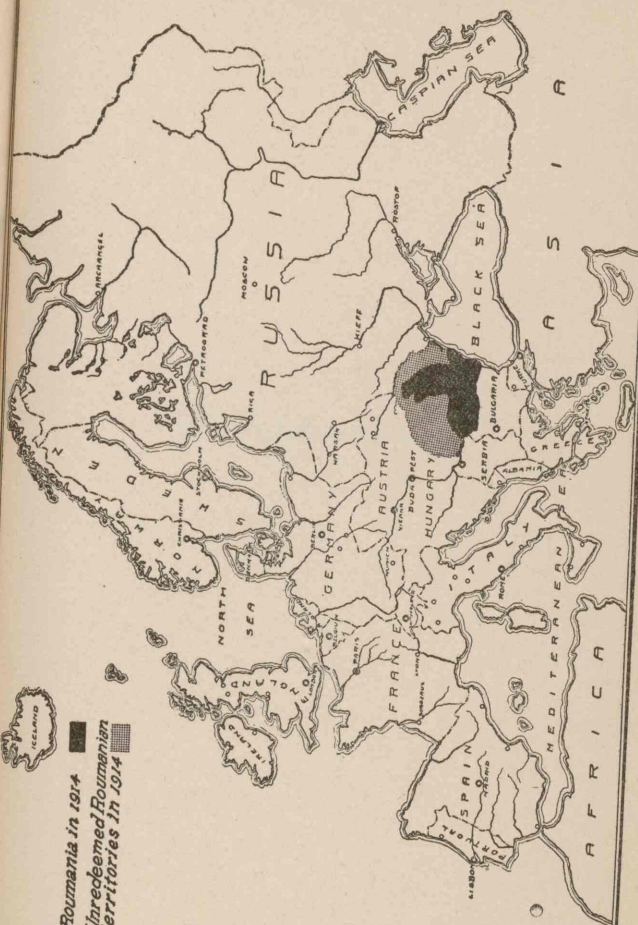


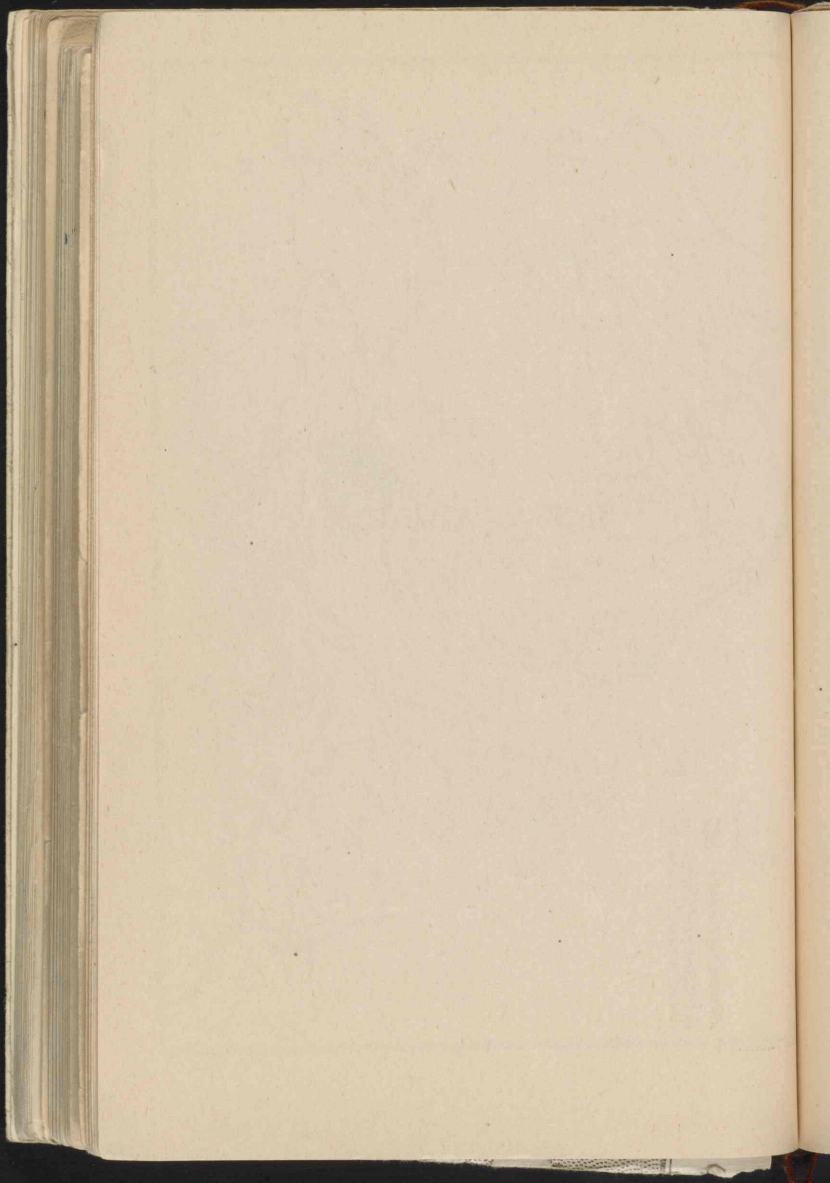
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Roumania in 1914
Unredeemed Roumanian
territories in 1914





BESSARABIA

1824/3239

THE ROUMANIANS AND THEIR LANDS

III

BESSARABIA

BESSARABIA, somewhat more than 17,000 sq. miles in extent, is geographically very well defined. It stretches like a long and gradually widening peninsula between the Pruth, to the west, the Danube and Black Sea to the south and the Dniester (Nistru) to the east. The only conventional frontier is to the north-west, in the neck of land between the upper reaches of the Pruth and the Dniester where begins the Bucovina.

A glance at the map will show that Bessarabia borders on three sides with Roumanian lands; to the south, it is separated by the Danube from the Dobrogea, to the west, the Pruth divides it from Moldavia, the mother country, and to the north-west stretches the Bucovina, itself the cradle of Moldavia.

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I. BESSARABIA: PART OF FREE MOLDAVIA.

The rulers of Wallachia (southern Roumania of to-day) from the dawn of her history until the eighteenth century belonged nearly all to the great house of Bessaraba. The Bessarabs extended their sway in the XIVth century not only over Wallachia and Dobrogea, but also over the plains to the north of the Danube delta (the Bugeac as it was then known), southern Bessarabia of to-day.

When the Turks reached the Danube, about the beginning of the XVth century, they found accordingly the country between the lower Pruth and the Dniester in the hands of the Bessarabs, and as they gave the name of Bogdania to Moldavia, on account of its princes of the house of Bogdan, they likewise gave the name of Bessarabia to the lands in the power of the Bessarabs. Already at that time, though, the territory between the upper Pruth and the Dniester was in the possession of Moldavia.

In 1465 Stephen the Great, the most famous of the Moldavian Princes, in the course of a successful war against his Wallachian contemporary ousted him out of southern Bessarabia and established himself in the ports of Kilia and Cetatea Alba (now Akkerman) which were very

important for Moldavian commerce as she traded through them with western Europe (principally by means of the Genoese). Unfortunately these ports were also on Turkey's road towards Crimea and Tartary and after long wars Moldavia had to give them up. She retained, however, possession of all the country to the north of these places, what we should call now Northern and Central Bessarabia, but what was then known only as Eastern Moldavia.

This situation lasted until 1812, when Turkey ceded to Russia, by the treaty of Bucharest, not only that part of Bessarabia which was in her possession, but also—although she had no juridical right to do this, as Moldavia was not a Turkish province, but an autonomous principality—all that part of Moldavia east of the Pruth. Moldavia's misfortune was that she was at that time too weak to protest effectually against this infringement of her rights and she had to submit to the injustice perpetrated by the two powerful Empires.

If the Turkish Commissioners, Morouzi and Ghalib Bey, had not been bribed by the Russians they might have saved Bessarabia at the last moment, as Napoleon was just preparing his great expedition against Russia and that country was only too anxious to have her hands free

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in the south. The crime of the Turkish plenipotentiaries came to light a little later and they were beheaded. Unfortunately this did not restore Bessarabia to Moldavia.

In 1812 the province had only 340,000 inhabitants, as the population had terribly suffered during the preceding half century on account of continuous wars and of devastating epidemics of plague and cholera brought by the Russian and Turkish armies. Save for the south-eastern corner of the province where some foreign elements had introduced themselves during the time of the Turkish domination, the population was everywhere purely Roumanian.

After the defeat of Russia in 1856, the Congress of Paris gave back to Moldavia southern Bessarabia so as to protect the Danube from the pressure of the Muscovite Empire.

In 1877 a new war broke out between Turkey and Russia. Roumania saw that she would not be able to remain neutral and a convention was signed by Roumania and Russia in April, 1877, by which the former power allowed the Russians to pass through her territory while Russia pledged herself to respect the "present territorial integrity" of Roumania. The benevolent neutrality of Roumania became, during the summer of that year, an active alliance, for the Rus-

sians had been badly beaten before Plevna and had appealed to the Roumanians for help. Prince Charles of Roumania was consequently made Commander in Chief of the allied forces before Plevna and before the year was over Osman Pasha, the gallant Turkish Commander, was obliged to lay down his arms.

Notwithstanding, however, this valuable aid and her solemn pledge, Russia declared brutally at the end of the war, that she intended to despoil Roumania once again of her Bessarabian province. Roumania protested naturally very strongly against this unwarrantable breach of faith. England, France and Italy appealed also to the sense of justice of Russia, but nothing availed, and Bessarabia was lost once more. Thanks, however, to the western powers, Russia was obliged to consent that a larger part of the former Roumanian province of Dobrogea be given to Roumania as a compensation.

Since 1878 and until November, 1917, Bessarabia remained under the rule of Russia; but this long captivity did not dull the national sentiment of the Roumanians, and as soon as the Russian bayonets disappeared in the growing turmoil of Russia, the Roumanians proclaimed their independence (November, 1917) and a few months later (April, 1918) their union with Roumania.

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II. THE INSTITUTIONS OF BESSARABIA DURING THE RUSSIAN OCCUPATION.

According to Mr. Irodonetz, who has made a deep study of the policies of Russia towards her subjected peoples (*La Russie et les peuples allogènes*, Berne, 1917), this is how Russia proceeded in Bessarabia: . . . "At first, (1812) the Russian government made a show of benevolence and the new province was granted a fairly liberal autonomy. A Roumanian noble, Scarlat Sturdza, was appointed governor and a counsel of advisers was given him which was a faithful copy of the Moldavian diet. Roumanian was preserved as the official language and justice was administered according to the laws of the land. It should be said that the Moldavian code was much superior to the Russian laws then in existence. This liberal era was unfortunately of very short duration and already in 1818, the governor's council was transformed into a "Superior Council" placed under the supervision of a Russian Governor General. The civil service ceased to be provincial and became simply a branch of the Russian administration. In 1828 the "Superior Council" was abolished and fin-

ally, in 1834, all the power was centered in the hands of the Russian Governor General. In the same year Roumanian was excluded from the courts and the administrations, although 75 per cent. of the population spoke no other language. In 1837 the first blow was dealt to the Church, the archbishopric of Kishineo was reduced to the rank of bishopric. . . . In 1859 the Roumanian language was excluded also from the schools and the introduction of books or newspapers from Roumania strictly prohibited. . . . In 1861 the emancipation of the serfs laid the basis of modern Russia. In Bessarabia this reform had no important consequences, because excepting the Gypsies, in Bessarabia as in the other Roumanian lands, there were no serfs. . . . The other reforms introduced in Russia during the following decade were also introduced into Bessarabia, but here instead of bettering the situation they were either useless, as they did not apply to the conditions prevailing in Bessarabia, or were simply the means of destroying the last remnants of autonomy the province still enjoyed."

III. THE POPULATION OF BESSARABIA.

The 340,000 souls we found in Bessarabia, in 1812, belonged practically all to the Roumanian

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race. A few hundred Bulgarian families that had come in the wake of the returning Russian armies at the close of the wars of 1772, 1792 and 1812 and a certain number of Cossacks, Jews and Tartars in that province which had been under Turkish rule were the only foreign elements.

The Russian administration, desirous at the same time, to increase the numbers of the inhabitants and to diminish the proportion of the Roumanian element, encouraged immigration on a large scale. In 1814 and 1816 German Colonists settled in the region of Akkerman, and in 1816 French and Swiss immigrants also founded several towns and villages in the south-eastern part of the province. At the close of the war of 1829 more Bulgarians came across and established themselves in the region of Bolgrad. In 1856 Bessarabia was already peopled by nearly a million inhabitants, the Roumanians representing still about 70 per cent of the total. In 1891, the Russian statistics gave us the following records:

Races	Numbers	Percentage
Roumanians	1,090,000	66
Ukrainians	215,000	13
Jews	141,000	8.6
Bulgarians	85,000	5
Germans	43,000	2.6
Russians	34,000	2
Gypsies	17,000	1

The fact that the Roumanians represented at that time only two-thirds of the population was due not only to the immigration of foreign elements, but also to the deportation of the Roumanian population into southern Russia, the Caucasus and even Siberia. According to reliable estimates there were in 1891 over 500,000 Roumanians scattered over these wide territories and, as the Russian government desired, they have been naturally lost to the Roumanian nation.

The last statistics available give a total population of 2,604,800 inhabitants, 1,897,800 of which are Roumanians, and the rest representing Ukrainians, Germans, Bulgarians, Poles, Russians, Gypsies, Cossacks, Greeks, etc. It should not be overlooked that the Russians inhabiting the province before the war were there only as railway employees, wire operators, or as members of the other branches of the Russian administration; the same thing applies, in a great measure, even to the Ukrainians. The disparition of Russian rule will thus automatically relieve the province of a large proportion of her aliens. This is evidenced to, by the fact that while eight-ninths of the peasants and nearly three-fourths of the nobles—according to the last Russian class statistics—who represent naturally the most

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stable sections of the community, are Roumanians, the Bourgeoisie, largely composed of people connected in one way or another with the government, is on the contrary prevalently non-Roumanian.

That Bessarabia is fundamentally a Roumanian land is evidenced also by the fact that in six out of the eight counties, which form the province, the Roumanians (1891) are in the absolute majority—as much as 87 per cent. of the total population, in the district of Baltzi, for instance, being Roumanian. Even in the other two provinces, Ismail and Akkerman, they are more numerous than any other race.

But the best proof that Bessarabia is Roumanian is given us by her own deeds. As soon as Russian might waned and she was able to shake off the Russian yoke, she never hesitated but returned at once to her ancient allegiance.

IV. THE SCHOOLS OF BESSARABIA.

As was said before, during the first times of the Russian occupation the Russian administration did not try to enforce a policy of systematic Russification. In the schools Roumanian was still taught and Roumanian books could be printed, granted their contents did not appear dangerous

to the censor. However, in this case also a change for the worse soon came and Russian schools were opened at Kishineo (1822), Baltzi (1824), Hotin, Bender, etc. In 1833 a high school was opened in Kishineo, Roumanian being first declared facultative and in 1873 excluded altogether. Roumanian was excluded, from the first, from all elementary schools and no private schools where Roumanian would be taught were authorized. As a result of this policy, Bessarabia became one of the most illiterate countries of Europe. According to the Russian official publications, this was the situation in 1859:

High schools	2	31	professors	342	pupils
Elementary schools.....	18	71	"	1050	"
Private schools	7	13	"	250	"

For a population of over a million souls there were thus educational possibilities for only about 1600 children.

Forty years later the situation was improved, though being still far from good. The population was now considerably over the million and a half mark:

High schools, 13; Elementary country schools, 398; Elementary city schools and nondescript,

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253. Pupils: 29,855 boys, and 9,320 girls; total, 39,175.

Were we to compare the situation of the Roumanians of Bessarabia with that of the Roumanians of the independent Kingdom, we would see that the school attendance in the latter (1909), excluding the universities, was of 611,000 pupils, or about ten per cent of the total population, whereas the school attendance in Bessarabia represented only two per cent of the population. The educational opportunities afforded to the Roumanian peasant were thus five times greater in Roumania than in Bessarabia, and this although there was room for considerable improvement, in this regard, even in Roumania. But the truth is that the situation of the Roumanians of Bessarabia was even worse than it looks, at first sight, for this paltry number of 39,000 pupils was not evenly divided amongst the different parts of the country, and whereas in the districts of Orhei, Baltzi, Soroca and Hotin, there was respectively but one pupil for 63, for 102, for 100 and for 78 inhabitants, in the districts of Ismail and Akkerman, where the Germans and Bulgars are numerous, the proportion was much more favorable, being respectively one for 25 and one for 12. It should be noted too that German could be taught in the German

village schools, whereas Roumanian was excluded from absolutely all the schools without any exception.

In these conditions the Roumanian peasants preferred to keep their children away from school and thus by their very exaggeration, the efforts of the administration to Russianize the population were defeated.

The only result was that the unfortunate Roumanians remained plunged in medieval ignorance. The Russian statistics are but too conclusive evidence of this. Inhabitants (over 7 years of age) know how to read and write, per centum:

Germans	men 63	women 62
Jews	49	24
Bulgarians	31	6
Roumanians	10	1

It should be noted that in free Roumania the proportion (1910) of the recruits who could read or write was nearly 60 per cent.

Not content with forbidding the introduction of Roumanian books or publications the Russian government did not allow either the printing of Roumanian books in Bessarabia and, what was more extraordinary still, while the public library of Kishineo contained works in most of the languages of Europe it contained not one

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single book in the only language spoken by the majority of the inhabitants of the province.

In comparison with this destruction of the spiritual life of two million human beings, with this forced retrogression of an entire nation, even the rule of the Magyars seems tolerable.

V. THE CHURCH.

The Church was not spared more than the schools. During the first years of the occupation, as none of the priests knew any other language than Roumanian the Russian government had to allow perforce the service to be celebrated in Roumanian. It was not long, though, before schools were established for the teaching of Russian to the clergy and already in the sixties service in Roumanian was abolished and Roumanian church music had to give way before the Russian liturgy. Yet in this instance also the Russians did not achieve their aims, for when the Roumanians could understand the service no longer and saw their church become a mere tool of the Russian government, they lost all interest in their church and its influence well nigh disappeared. Moreover, the clergy lacked prestige on account of its bad economical situation. As the state contributed very inadequately to the

maintenance of the church and the faithful had fallen away, most of the priests were obliged to devote nearly all of their time to the earning of their livelihood, with the consequence that spiritual life was for them but a very secondary matter. In the theological schools, for instance, the sum provided by the administration for the yearly keep of a pupil was only 28 rubles, or at pre-war rates about 14 dollars. The professors were paid, on an average, 400 rubles a year, about 200 dollars. Even taking into account the low cost of living in Russia, it is evident that only the least intelligent and least progressive members of the community could choose a life based on such an economical standard.

All this applies principally to the Roumanian clergy, or rather, we should say, to the clergy devised for the benefit of the Roumanians. The other nationalities, particularly the Germans, were allowed also in this subject a great deal more liberty and their clergy upheld by the affectionate regard of their congregations was fairly well off.

The spiritual torpor in which the Bessarabians were sunk should not be taken as a proof of their intellectual slothfulness. In a favorable environment they show, on the contrary, remarkable capacities. Some of the most distinguished writ-

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ers of Roumania in the latter half of the nineteenth century were Bessarabians, such for instance as the historians and philologists, Alexander and B. Hasdeu, the literary critic, D. Gherea, and others.

The Roumanian Commander-in-Chief during the Great War, General Averescu, who displayed fine military talents under the most adverse circumstances, is also a Bessarabian.

VI. BESSARABIA REGAINS HER FREEDOM.

As soon as the Revolution swept away the Russian government and Kerensky proclaimed the right of all subjected nationalities to autonomy, Roumanian committees were formed at Kishineo, Odessa, etc., to organize Bessarabia on that basis. The first thing that was done was the opening of schools to prepare the Roumanian population for its new destinies.

When the Ukraine declared her independence, Bessarabia was "ipso facto" delivered, as all geographical contiguity with the Russia of Petrograd was at an end. A Moldavian government (i. e. Roumanian) was thus set up on the 3rd of November, 1917, and an assembly of 147 members, representing the whole of the population, gathered at Kishineo on the 21st of November,

amidst the most fervid manifestations of enthusiasm. The sitting was opened by a "Te Deum" sung in Roumanian and the new flag, identical to the Roumanian flag, was unfurled on the government buildings. Mr. Niculetz, a Roumanian, former professor at the Petrograd University, now a member of the Roumanian cabinet, was elected president.

A Bessarabian army was organized at once, schools for teachers were opened in all the principal towns and better days seemed at last to have come, when the bolsheviks—mostly bands of deserters from the Russian army—began to loot the province and Bessarabia had to appeal to Roumania for help. This help given immediately and in the most fraternal spirit strengthened further the ties uniting the two countries, and on the ninth of April, 1918, the Bessarabian Assembly proclaimed by a practically unanimous vote the union of Bessarabia with Roumania.

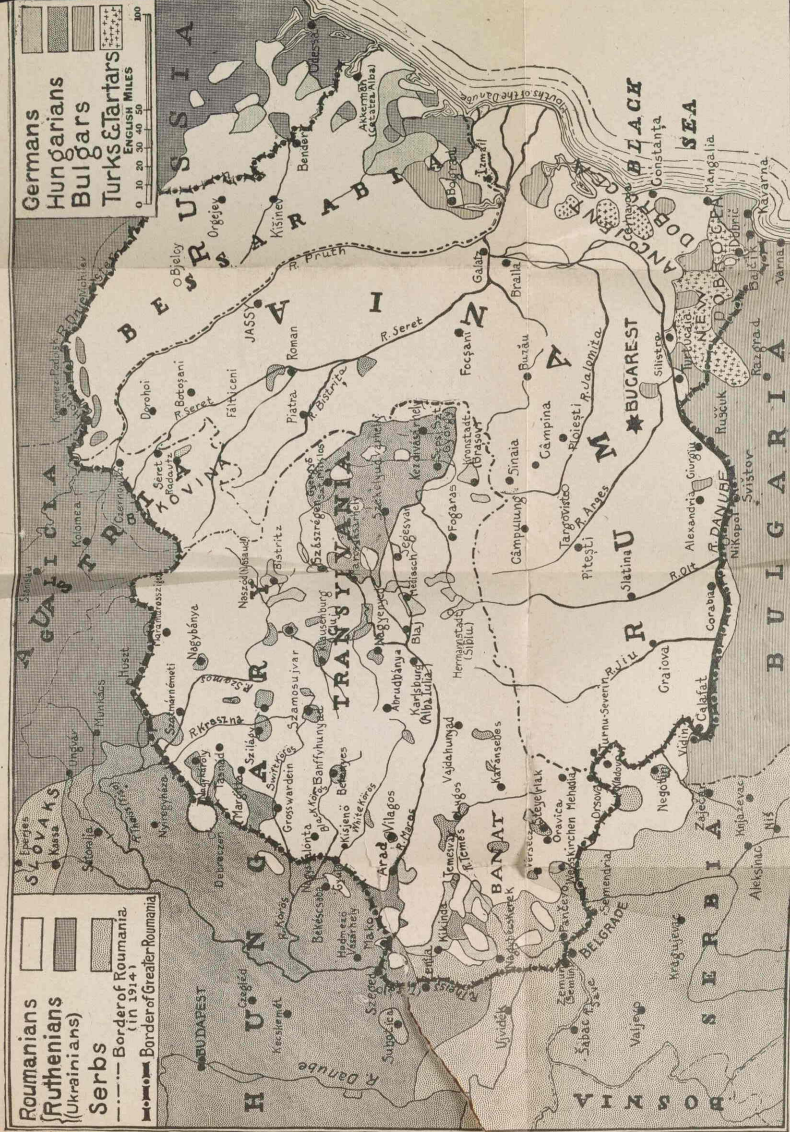
If it had not been for Roumania's regard for the feelings of democratic Russia this union would have been proclaimed much before that time, for already in June, 1917, delegations of Bessarabian soldiers had come to Iassy to ask Roumania to annex the lost province, and the Roumanian government had to exert all its in-

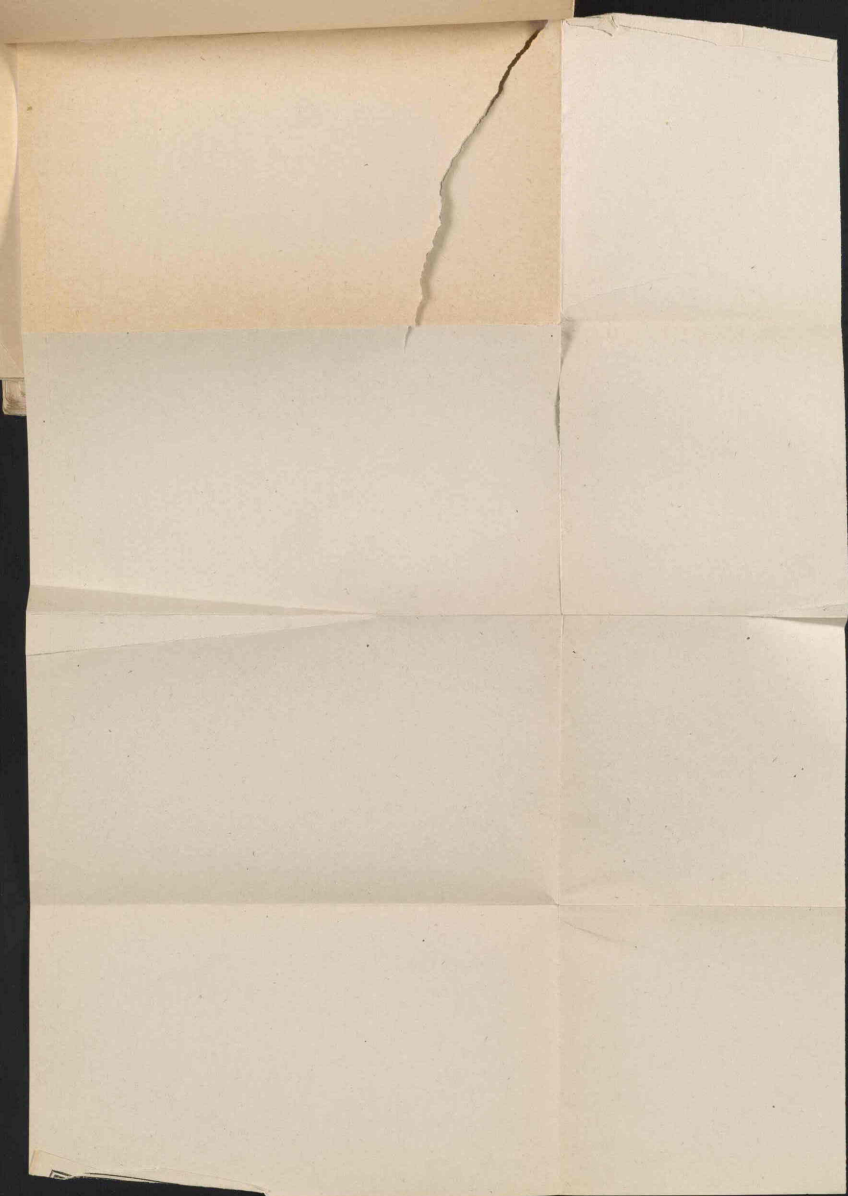
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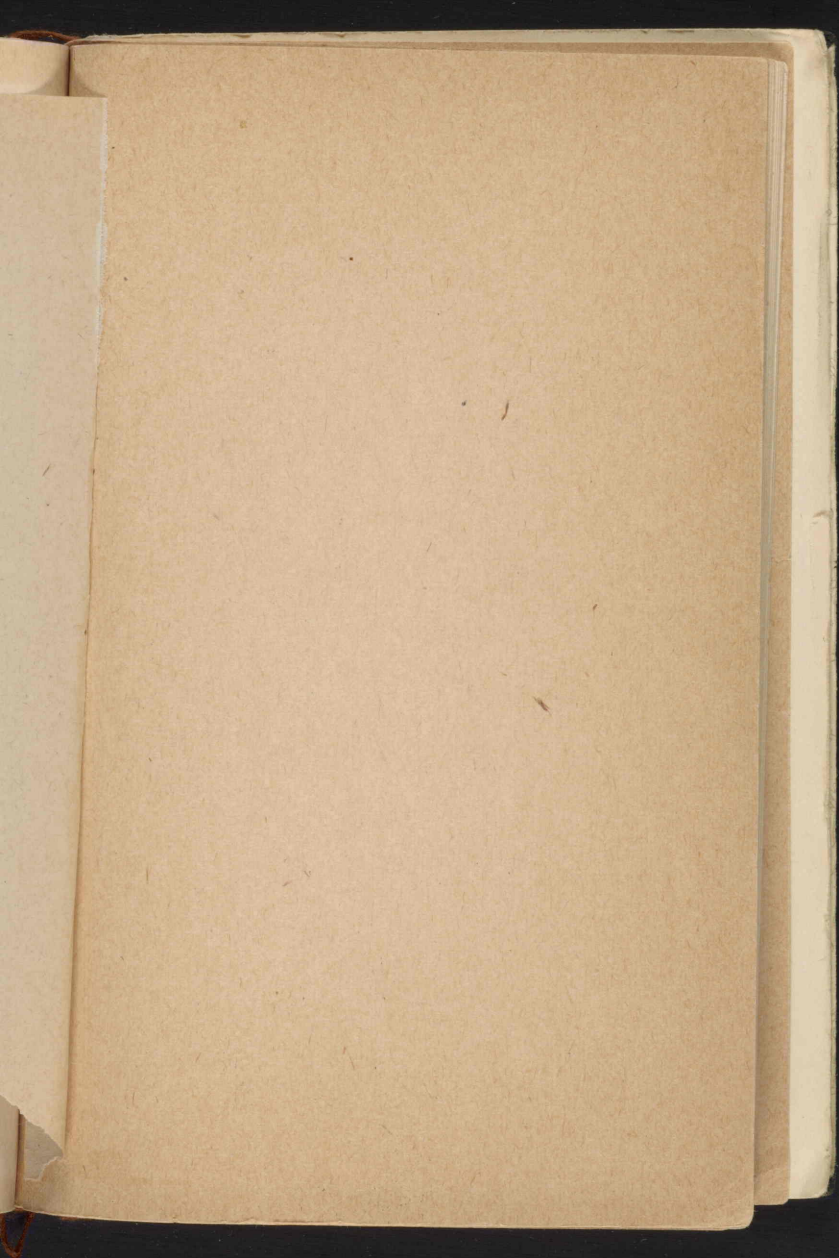
fluence to prevent them from taking a step that still seemed premature.

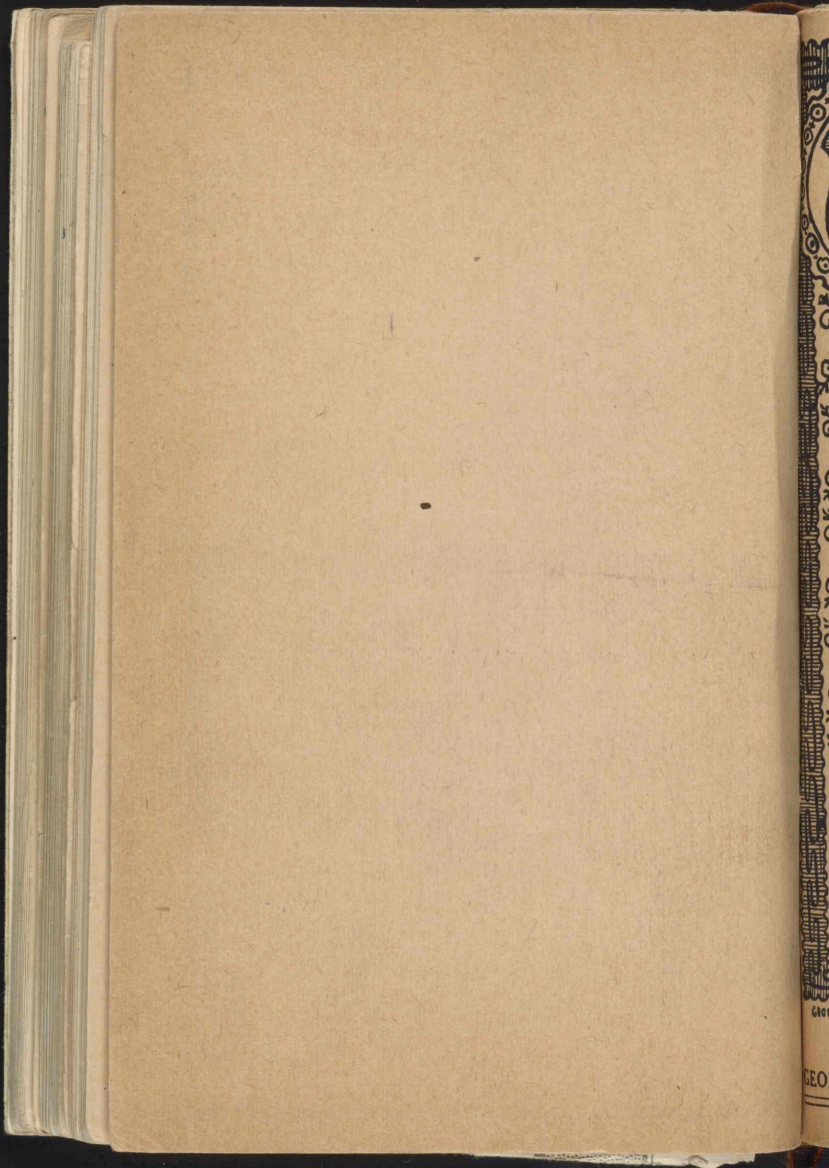
The century-old aspirations of the Bessarabians are now satisfied. The Ukrainians who, at first, in the exaltation of their newly-born patriotism, made some objections, have accepted formally, on July 31, the new situation and as a sign of this recognition an Ukrainian Consul has been appointed at Kishineo.

The Bessarabians feel fully entitled to believe that the Allied powers will see in this reunion with the mother country one of the most legitimate applications of the noble principles of national justice and free determination they are upholding and that the peace conference will record it gladly in the great book of History as the redress of a long-standing injury.











THE ROUMANIANS AND
THEIR LANDS

EDITED BY PROFESSOR VASILE STOICA
IV

THE DOBROGEA

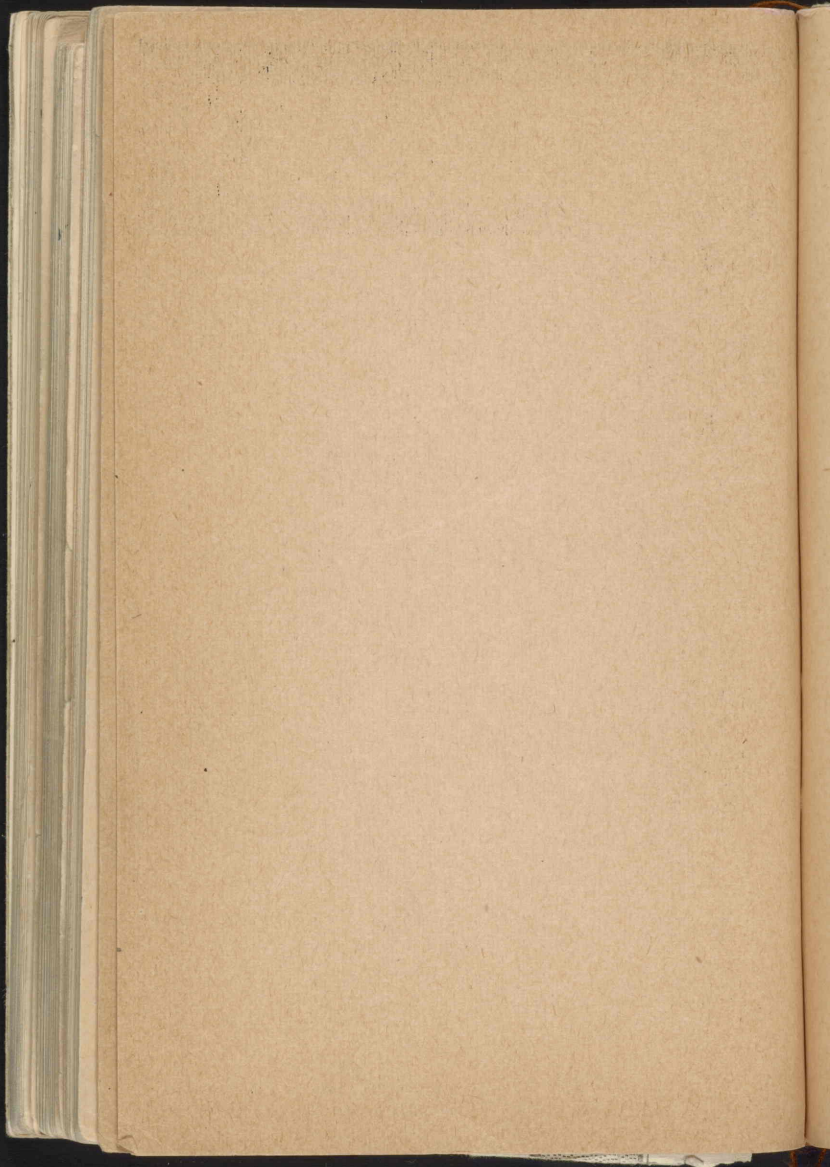
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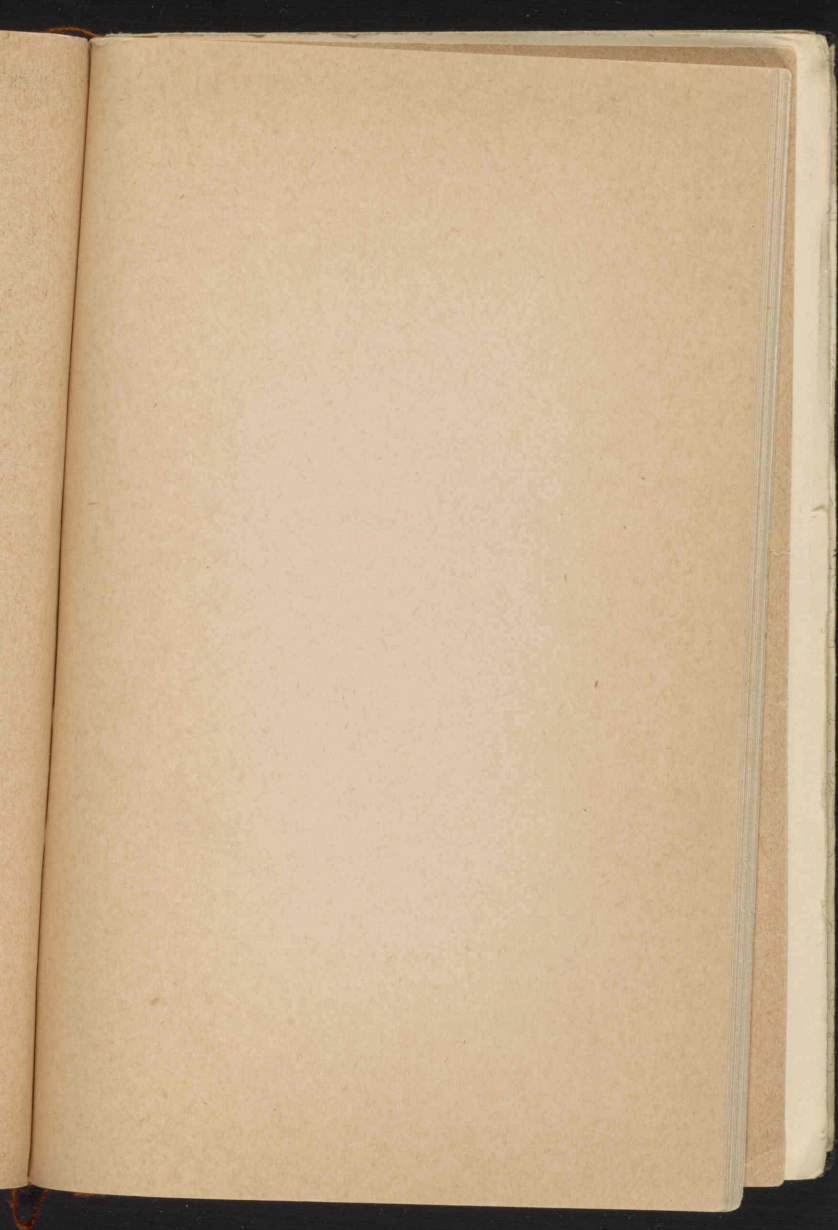
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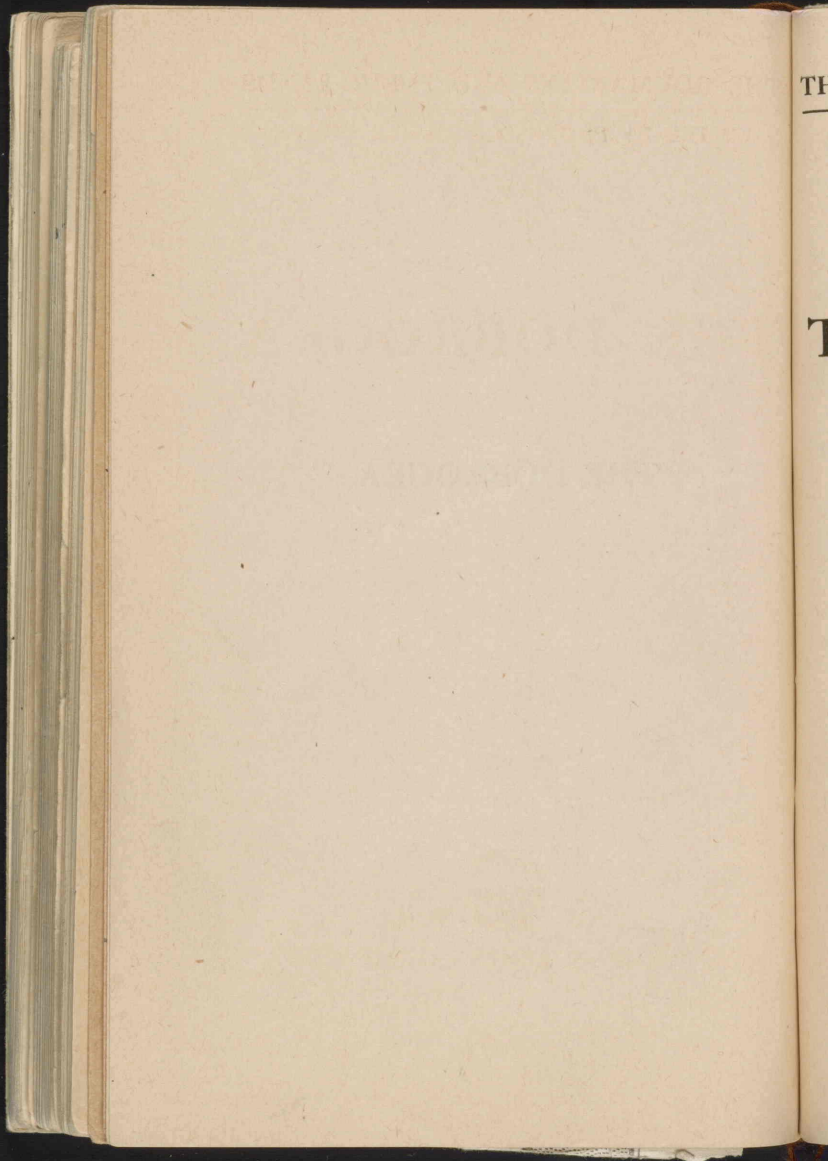
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THE DOBROGEA



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IV

THE DOBROGEA



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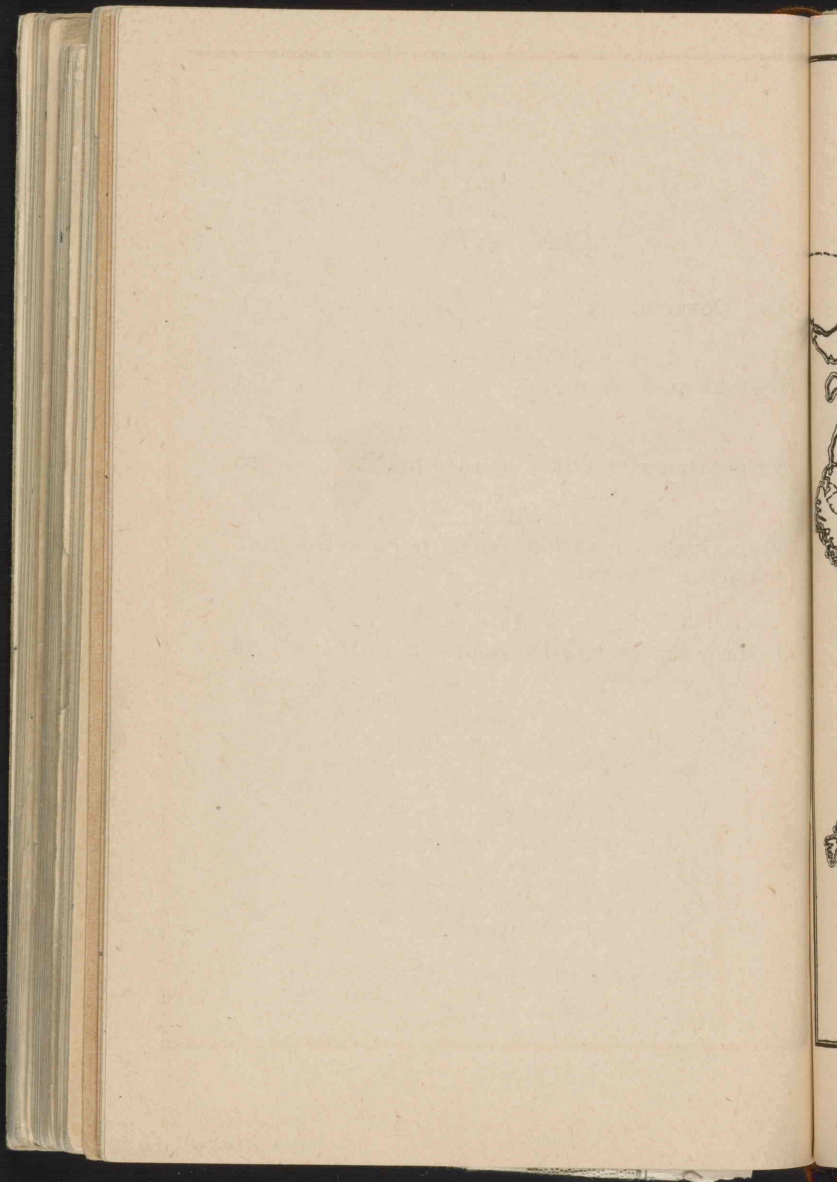
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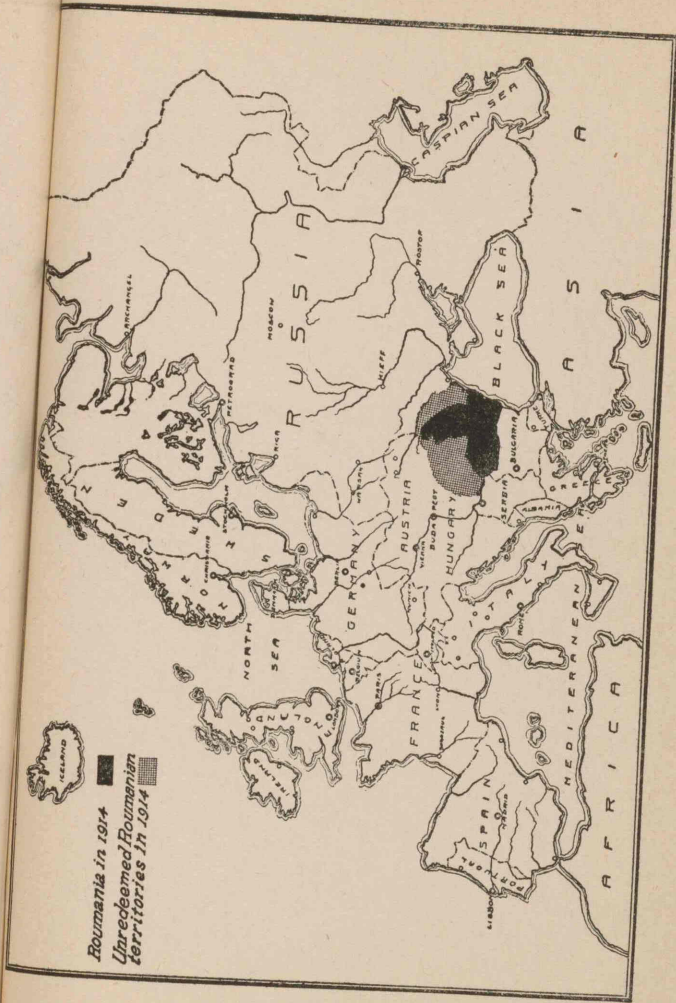
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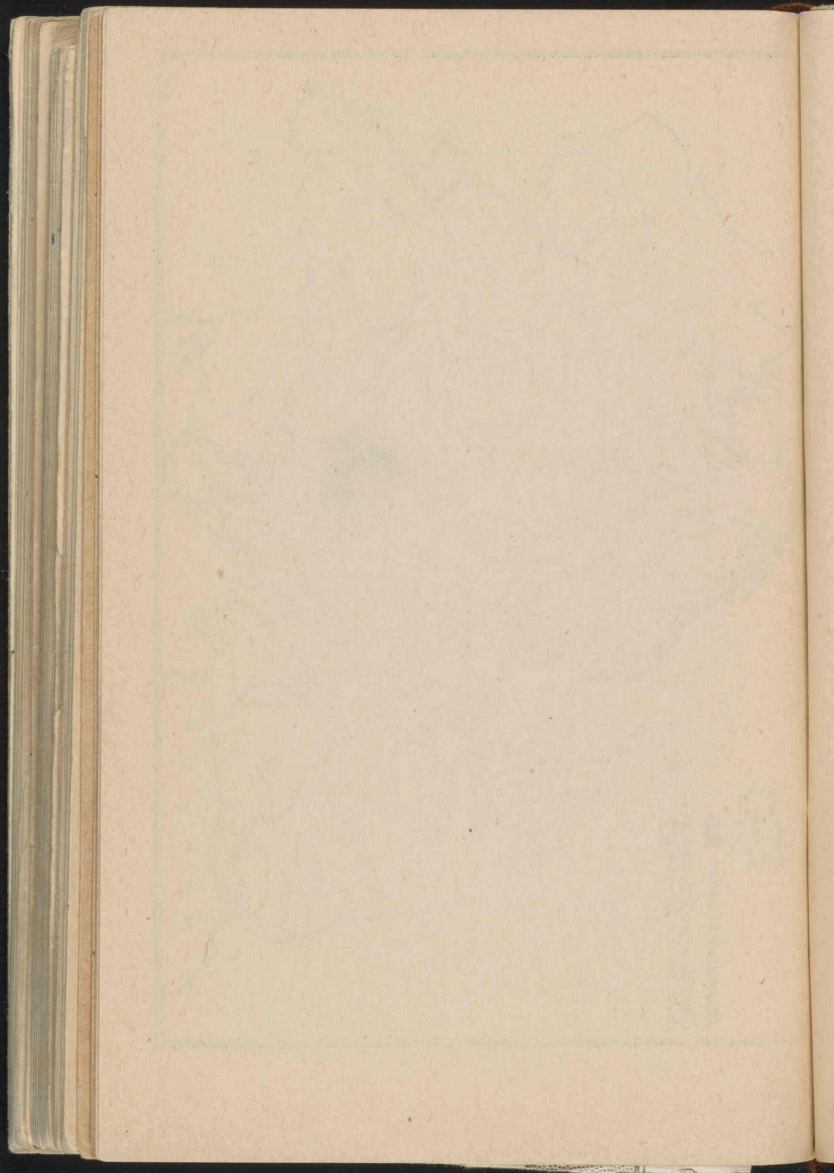
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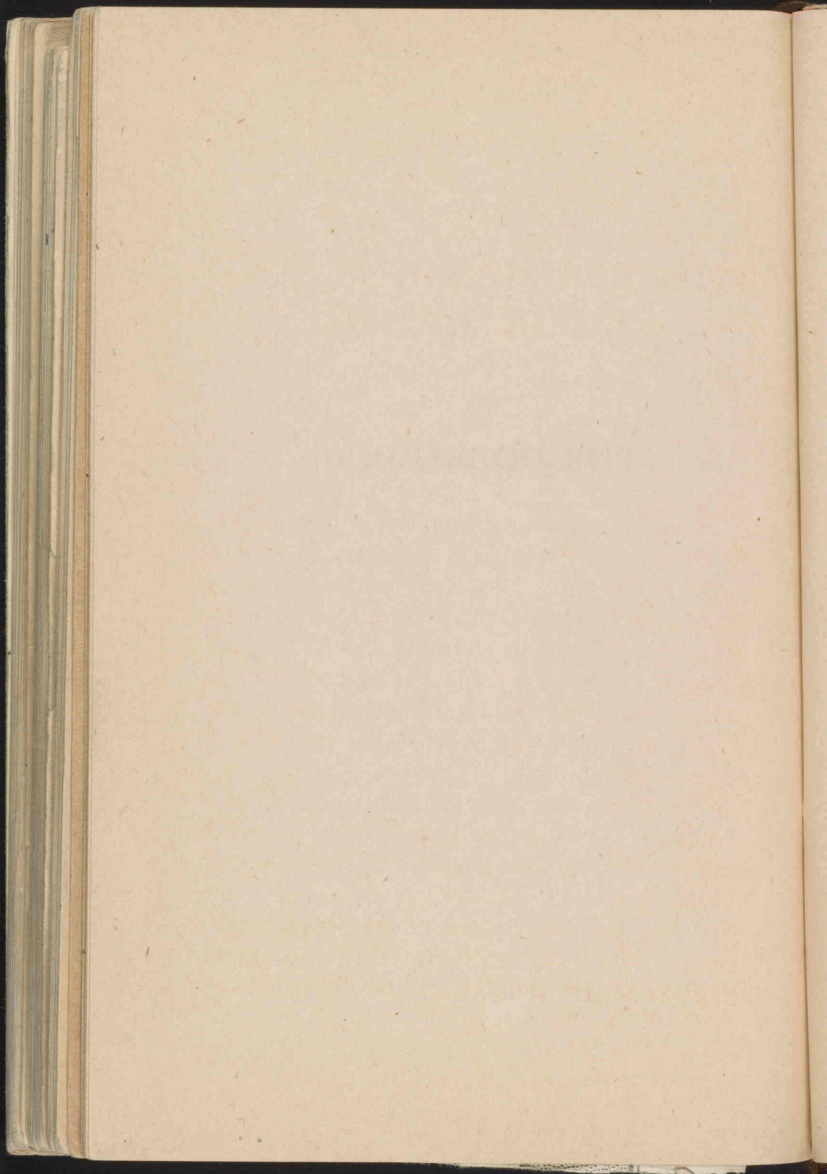


Roumania in 1914
Unredeemed Roumanian
territories in 1914





THE DOBROGEA



THE ROUMANIANS AND THEIR LANDS

IV

THE DOBROGEA

THE north-eastern extremity of the Balkan Peninsula is by nature a distinctly individual geographical unit. Just to the south of the great bend of the Danube at Silistria, the pre-Balkan Bulgarian highlands terminate with a pronounced ridge. To the north of this cliff the forests disappear, the rivers become very rare, the climate is dry. Here begins the steppe, here begins the Dobrogea.

The climate and the general aspect of man and nature, reminds one not of Bulgaria, but of southern Bessarabia and of the steppe of eastern Wallachia.

It is only in the vicinity of the Danube delta that the landscape changes; hills (1500 feet), deep oak forests, running waters—it is again al-

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together a different country, and, strangely enough, the geological constitution of these hills shows them to be distinct, both from the Balkan mountains and from the Carpathians.

The geographical individuality of the Dobrogea has struck all observers since the most distant times. Strabo knew it as Scythia Minor, separated by the Danube from Scythia proper and by the river Ziras (the Batova of to-day, near Ekrene) from Moesia. And since the Hellenic age it has always been known by a name of its own, the best evidence of its particularism.

I. HISTORICAL SKETCH

The remains of ancient structures still to be found in different parts of the province testify to its ancient civilization. Enjoying the advantage of being enclosed between the Danube and the sea it attracted from very early times numerous Greek colonies, which founded the cities of Odessos, Dyonisos, Istria, Tomis, etc., along the coast, and Troesmis, Durostorum, etc., on the Danube. These towns were markets for the exchange of the produce of the northern plains for that of the Ægean shores. The region of the lower Danube had thus, even before the advent

of the Roman legions, been permeated for a long time by Mediterranean culture.

Greek influence had been, however, much more potent in the cities than in the country, so that the Romans had no great difficulty in assimilating the rather sparse rural population. To accelerate this Romanization, colonists were brought from different parts of the Roman Empire, and after the conquest of Dacia a certain number of families belonging to the vanquished race were scattered through the province, probably with the intent of merging them in an already Romanized community.

Archeological researches made during the last years before the war have shown that the neo-Roman population derived from the blending of all these races under Roman rule has never entirely disappeared and has formed to this day one of the basic elements of the population of the province. It has been terribly battered, though! Already in the fifth century, most of the flourishing cities of Greek and Roman times were ruined by the Slavs, and, in 679, what was left was swept away by the ruthless invasion of the Bulgarians, who passed through the Dobrogea on their way towards the south, into Bulgaria of to-day.

The Bulgarians were soon followed by the

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Varegs. These northern barbarians were hurled back, however, by the Greek forces and the Dobrogea returned to the Byzantine fold. The unfortunate land regained a little of its ancient prosperity. Silistria became the residence of an arch-bishop, a powerful Greek fleet was stationed on the coast, and trade flourished anew. Unfortunately this period of calm did not last very long, for in the tenth century, the Petchenegs (a Touranian stock) broke into the province and their work of destruction was completed by the Comans (another Touranian race) who appeared at the beginning of the eleventh century.

It is no wonder that in these circumstances we find a gradual weakening of the central authority and that we see rising in its place the power (11th century) of local chieftains, Tatos, Chalis, Solomon, Satzas, Sestlav, seemingly all, with the exception of Sestlav, Greeks or possibly Roumanians (Solomon and Tatos or Tauto). About 1150, however, the waning Byzantine Empire regained a little strength and the Emperor Manuel reestablished the imperial authority in the province. And as late as the fourteenth century the Byzantine Empire retained a certain degree of influence in the affairs of the country. It was about that time, during the civil war

waged by John VI Cantacuzene against John V. Paleologue for the imperial throne, that Balica, despot of Kavarna, a Roumanian, perhaps, if his name were any clue to his origin, sent to the help of the Regent, Anna Paleologue, a thousand horsemen under the command of two brothers, Theodore and Dobrotitch. This last was of great help to the Regent, who was raised to the rank of generalissimo and even obtained the hand of one of the Imperial Princesses. This brilliant career apparently stirred his ambition, and we find him a little later carving out for himself a state in the northern provinces of the empire. He stormed Varna, Kavarna, and finally established the capital of the new State of Kaliacra, near Kavarna. He died in 1396, but the province he conquered remained henceforth known as the land of Dobrotitch, that is, as the Dobrogea. Yet, he left no successors, and very soon after his death we find Mircea-the-Old, Prince of Wallachia, master not only of Silistria and of the eastern shore of the Danube, as he had been already for some years, but also of the seaboard, from the mouths of the Danube to Kavarna, or as he styled himself, "despotus terrarum Dobrodictii," "Ruler of the two shores of the Danube to the Great Sea and Lord of Silistria."

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The rising Turkish tide, under Mahomet I, swept away the Roumanian domination and the Sultan, with a keen appreciation of the great strategical value of the Dobrogea, colonized it intensively with Turkish settlers brought over from Asia Minor. Constantia—the Tomis of old, the Constantza of to-day—lost its Genoese name in 1445 and became Kustendje; Kalatis deteriorated into Mangalia; the long Ottoman slumber set in.

The XVth and XVIth centuries were fairly prosperous in a mediocre rural way, but the XVIIth and especially the XVIIIth century ushered in a new period of decadence. The towns dwindled into miserable villages, the roads disappeared, ruin and fever stalked the country.

It was then that, for the first time, the Bulgarians appeared in any numbers as established settlers. Their first colonies arrived after the peace of Kutchuck Kainardji (1774). After the peace of Bucarest (1812), by which Bessarabia remained in the hands of the Czar, many Bulgarians abandoned their country, where they were suffering at that time from a terrible recrudescence of Turkish lawlessness (the era of the Pashvanlis) and emigrated into Southern Bessarabia. When, however, the term of their exemption from taxes and military service was

up, some ten years later, many of them began to regret the Turkish yoke, preferring it to these shackles of modern civilization, and accordingly crossed the Danube again, back to the opposite Turkish bank, that is, into Northern Dobrogea.

This was the origin of the Bulgarian population in the region of Tulcea, anterior, therefore, only fifteen to twenty years, to the Crimean war.

As to the Bulgarians of southern Dobrogea, they were immigrants from the region of Kotel (northeastern Bulgaria, south of Shoumla).

As evidence of the continuous presence of a large Roumanian element there are, on the other hand, many proofs. The Roumanian folklore, for instance, contains numerous references to the Dobrogea and alludes often to the Roumanian population that is to be found there. Moreover, since the fall of the Byzantine Empire the Greek orthodox faithful were in the dependence of the Roumanian bishop of Braila, another sign of the close ties existing between the Dobrogea and the Roumanian Principalities.

These ties were not only spiritual or racial, but also commercial, for on account of the neglect into which Constantia had fallen since Turkish occupation, the port had deteriorated so greatly that nearly all the commerce of the province had to use now the way of the Danube, princi-

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pally by the ports of Macin and of the Moldavian Galatz.

At the time of the Crimean war, Camille Alard, a French officer, gives us, in his notes taken during the campaign, some interesting information. He tells us, for instance, that along the Danube, he saw Tartar and Roumanian villages but that "the Bulgarians are not numerous." He says, at another place, "There are Bulgarians only near Mangalia and in a few villages of the interior between Tulcea and Kustenje"; and then he adds this suggestive observation which may explain many things: "As the Roumanians are looked upon with disfavor by the Turks, they pretend to be Bulgarians and speak Turkish with strangers."

Lejean, one of the best authorities on Turkey of that time, says, "The Bulgarians are but a small minority in the Dobrogea" (Lejean in Peterman's *Mittheilungen* for 1861).

The Bulgarian geographers themselves, when not blinded by racial prejudice, confirm these statements, and Mr. Miletitsch (*Bulletin de l'Institut pour l'étude de l'Europe sud-orientale*, III, p. 234) writes as recently as 1913: "From the valley of the Provadia, and from the Black Sea, near Inrichoe, to the Danube (on the north) I have not been able to discover a single locality

where the Bulgarian element was native." (See Commène: *La Dobrogea*.) Professor Dr. A. Ischirkoff, of the University of Sofia, expresses the same idea in different works.

In connection with Bulgarian claims on this Roumanian province, it can thus briefly be said that until the Turkish conquest, the Dobrogea was never for any length of time under Bulgarian rule. Dobrotitch, its most famous lord, was but an adventurer and held it by right of conquest as he might have held any land, Greek, Roumanian, or Hungarian. His nationality implies nothing as to the nationality of his subjects.

Serious claims to a country must be founded on a similitude of race, a common culture, a common history, or a long continuous possession. None of these grounds hold good here for the Bulgarians. The majority of the inhabitants are not and have never been Bulgarian; whatever civilization flourished in the Dobrogea was Greek, Roman, or Byzantine, while its modern prosperity is due entirely to Roumania. Moreover with the exception of a few years, such as the episode of Dobrotitch or that of Mircea-the-Old, since the fall of the Roman Empire and until the annexation to Roumania, it has had only two stable masters, the Byzantine and the Turk.

II. RE-PARTITION OF THE POPULATION.

A single glance at an ethnographical map of the Balkans will show us that between the eastern Balkan Mountains and the lower Danube, the Bulgarian population is separated from the coast by a large Turkish mass of compact settlements. This mass comprises most of the 600,000 Turks of Bulgaria. The Congress of Berlin cut this mass in two when tracing the Roumano-Bulgarian frontier from Silistria to Ilanlic. By far the larger part, however, remained on the Bulgarian side, and although the new frontier of 1913 swept southwards it did not reach even then, excepting a few points, the Bulgarian ethnical frontier.

In the Dobrogea proper this Turkish population suffered much more from the wars of the XVIIth and XVIIIth centuries, than farther south, as it was here that always, or nearly always, took place the first clashes between the Russian and the Ottoman armies. Thus it was, that in the first half of the nineteenth century the land was very sparsely peopled and invited immigration from the north. It was consequently at that time that the deserted villages were filled with new-comers, Russian refugees, Bul-

garians from Bessarabia, Germans from Poland and Southern Russia.

The first census taken by the Roumanian administration in 1879 and in 1880 shows how mixed the population then was, although the Roumanian race was already the most numerously represented.

	Province of Tulcea, 1879		Province of Constantza, 1880	
	(number of families)		(number of inhabitants)	
Roumanians ..	4082	32 per cent	15251	23 per cent
Bulgarians ..	3347	25	8038	13
Turks	1401	11	11126	18
Tartars	510	4	23498	38
Russians	304	2
Lipovanes ...	2169	17	513	1
Greeks	449	3	2121	4
Armenians ...	88	1	215	1
Germans	435	3
Jews	112	1	285	1
Gypsies	50	1	514	1
Total	12947	100	61561	100

Even a cynic would have to admit that these statistics are perfectly fair to the Bulgarians, for at the time the relations between the Roumanians and their southern neighbors whom they had just helped to throw over the Turkish yoke, were of the best. Yet, even then, the Bul-

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garians occupied but the third place amongst the races of the Dobrogea, after the Roumanians and the Tartars. And whereas the Roumanians peopled the whole western half of the province with a continuous mass of population, established in those regions since time immemorial, the Bulgarians were scattered over the eastern side in small groups and occupied in larger numbers only the region of Tulcea where they had arrived from Bessarabia but a generation earlier.

Moreover, this Bulgarian island was separated from the new Bulgarian frontier, over a hundred miles away, by compact masses of Moslems and Roumanians.

Since the annexation, the population accruing to the different races has been modified greatly by a constant stream of immigration coming from Roumania and a no less constant emigration of Mahometans towards Turkey.

The table on page 23 shows the movement of the population since 1890 (for the entire Dobrogea).

In 1911 the Roumanians were thus nearly four times as numerous as the Bulgarians, now occupying, however, the second place in the vital statistics of the province owing to the emigration of the Moslems. The very rapid growth of the Roumanian element is not surprising when

	1890	1900	1911	Per cent
Roumanians	72422	120691	186334	54.7
Bulgarians	33747	39282	48963	14.3
Tartars-Turks	42538	39490	35922	10.8
Russians, Lipovanes	22046	26953	34254	10.0
Greeks	7493	9105	8459	2.6
Germans	3993	8751	8490	2.6
Armenians	1227	2347	3528	1.1
Jews	3907	3415	4405	1.4
Others	2527	4807	7921	2.5
Totals	189959	261490	333275	100.

attention is given to the fact that it was the Roumanians who had the task of transforming the primitive Turkish waste into a modern prosperous land.

III. ROUMANIA'S CIVILIZING WORK IN THE DOBROGEA.

When Roumania was forced to accept the Dobrogea in 1878 as a compensation for the loss of Bessarabia, this unfortunate land had reached the utmost depths of decadence. Fallow fields, miserable villages, squalid towns, no roads, no schools, no hospitals, but poverty and fever galore.

The only sign of civilization was a single-track railroad operated between the Danube and Con-

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stantza, or Kustendje, by a British society, the "Danube and Black Sea Railway Co." As Kustendje had no accommodation of any kind, save a very rickety wooden pier, the railway really reached nowhere.

As soon as the Roumanians occupied the Dobrogea they started work. An administration was established on the Roumanian pattern, courts and schools were opened, all the different races being placed on a footing of perfect equality. A Health Department, a thing undreamed of until then, and yet perhaps the most necessary of all the new institutions, was set up and was soon very busy. Hospitals and clinics were established in all the principal towns, state physicians were appointed in every district, and sanitary agents supervised in all the more important villages the application of the new health regulations.

The value of property and its security were much increased. The bands of highwaymen who still infested the roads in the early eighties were exterminated and before the war perfect order prevailed everywhere. Good roads took the place of the cattle tracks of Turkish times; the Constantza-Cernavoda railway was completely overhauled, a bridge—one of the most important works of the kind in the world, being nearly eighteen miles long with its embankments and

viaducts—was erected across the Danube at Cernavoda and connected the Dobrogea with the rest of Europe. It should be noted that this bridge is the only one to cross the Danube between Belgrade and the sea, a distance of over 800 miles. At the same time no sacrifice was spared to make of Constantza one of the finest ports of eastern Europe. A far-reaching plan of improvements was drawn up in 1888 and during nearly twenty-five years work was kept up to realize it.

To-day the port of Constantza covers two million square yards of land and water, it is protected by two concrete breakwaters of a total length of two miles and boasts of ten piers which can accommodate fifty large ships at one time. The special port devised for the export of petroleum is one of the most perfect of its kind. Pipelines bring the petroleum from the oil fields, two hundred miles away, directly to the tanks erected to receive the different products (benzine, heavy oil, light oil, etc.). Flexible conduits, over half a mile long, connect the tanks with the ships and permit them thus to ride at anchor at a distance precluding any possibility of mishap. In case of accident special contrivances have been devised to separate completely this basin from the other docks.

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The wheat-silos can contain 132,000 metric tons of cereals. Over 1,250,000 metric tons of lumber, petroleum and cereals were exported from Constantza during the last year preceding the war. After describing very extensively the organization of the port, a French engineer, Mr. Muzet, exclaims: "The installations of the port of Constantza are, in variety, modern. How far we do seem from Turkish conceptions"—(*Le Monde Balkanique*). Another Frenchman, Mr. Paul Labbé, writes more enthusiastically still: "The work accomplished by the Roumanians is wonderful and the results are really magnificent" ("*La vivante Roumanie*," see Comnène, op. cit.). A line of fast and luxurious steamboats, the most fashionable in those seas, plied between Constantza, Constantinople, and the principal ports of the eastern Mediterranean. A freight line, also operated by the Roumanian government, connected Constantza with English and Dutch ports.

Splendid hotels and fine villas were rapidly being built at Constantza during the years preceding the war, and the miserable village of Turkish times was transformed already into a town of 30,000 inhabitants.

Besides the railroad Constantza-Cernavoda,

new tracks were laid from Carol I to Medjidie and Bazarjic, from Tulcea to Carol I, etc.

As for the elementary schools, their number passed from none in 1879 to 309 in 1910; and besides these elementary schools, high schools were founded at Tulcea and Constantza, as well as professional schools for girls and technical and commercial institutes. At Medjidie, the State, in a fine spirit of liberalism, kept a seminary for Moslem ministers; moreover, it should not be overlooked that all the expenses of the Mahometan faith are supported by the Roumanian administration.

It goes without saying, however, that everything is not perfect and that here and there some improvements could have been made, but on the whole the civilizing work accomplished by Roumania in a little over thirty-five years deserves, we think, even in the eyes of the most impartial observer, a most sympathetic consideration.

While in Turkish times a miserable population of 120,000 souls barely existed on the fever stricken soil of the Dobrogea, in 1912 the same province sustained easily and even in comparative plenty a population of 340,000 inhabitants, for in the meantime the agricultural production had increased sevenfold, mills and factories had been erected here and there (Cernavoda, Con-

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stantza, etc.), and the general commercial activity had increased in even vaster proportions. In 1908 already 139 popular banks were in existence and a whole series of co-operative societies for the collective sale of produce, the renting of large estates, etc., were being successfully operated. Nearly all the land is divided into small holdings, only a little over two per cent of the whole area representing estates of more than 140 acres.

IV. IMPORTANCE OF THE DOBROGEA.

The Dobrogea, however, is important for Roumania, not only on account of the sacrifices she has made to develop a poverty stricken land, but essentially because it is her only seaboard, and therefore is of vital importance for her ulterior development. And whereas the Dobrogea is absolutely indispensable for a normal development of Roumania, its economical importance for Bulgaria is practically nil, for Bulgaria possesses already all the Black Sea coast from south of Burgas to north of Varna, a coast endowed with natural bays and creeks, that the flat Roumanian coast can envy, and she also enjoys since 1913, free access to the Ægean Sea, an

immense advantage by itself, as the Mediterranean is not a back yard like the Black Sea.

The truth is that she wants the Dobrogea—or rather wanted, for it may be hoped her collapse will have made her wiser—not to further her own commerce or to deliver oppressed kinsmen, but so as to be in a position to control at will Roumania's sea trade and thereby render her dependent to that extent. With Serbia ruined by a long and ruthless occupation and with Roumania severed from the sea and dependent on a Bulgarian Constantza for her connections with the ports of the west, Bulgaria knew that even without any further territorial acquisitions she would be the absolute mistress of the Balkans. The hypocritical argument that the Danube would still be open to Roumanian commerce, does not stand, for the Danube is closed to navigation during the winter, and sometimes for as long as four months. Moreover, the loss of the Dobrogea would have brought Braila and Galatz, Roumania's two chief remaining ports, under the constant menace of the opposite Bulgarian shore. If such a situation had ever come to be, it would have been the cause of perpetual tension in south-eastern Europe and would have infallibly provoked another war. Fortunately as it is now certain, the coming just peace will restore the

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Dobrogea to Roumania together with the due reparations for all the wanton damage perpetrated there by the Bulgarian troops.

As for that part of the Deliorman, or southern Dobrogea, annexed to Roumania in 1913 as a protection against Bulgarian aggression, the attitude of Bulgaria during the war has shown that the precaution was too well justified. If it be true that the Roumanian element is not as numerous here as it is in the north, it should not be overlooked that nearly two-thirds of this territory is peopled not by Bulgarians, but by Turks (nearly 150,000), and that therefore the Bulgarians have no ethnical grounds in support of their claim, at least to the western and central section of the province. All the more so, as the Turks, since 1878, have always enjoyed much better treatment in Roumania than in Bulgaria. The enthusiastic reception given to the Roumanian troops in 1913, and the perfect order that prevailed from that time until 1916, are clear evidence that this Mahometan population was quite satisfied with its lot and would not desire at all to revert to Bulgarian rule.

